THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 159 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · AUGUST 26, 1944 NUMBER 9

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 225

EDITORIALS
- France Regained 227
- The War Surplus Bill 228
- Rescue Hungary's Jews! *by Freda Kirchwey* 229

ARTICLES
- Dewey's Monkey Wrench *by I. F. Stone* 230
- Will Hague Defeat F. D. R. ? *by James Kerney, Jr.* 232
- Polls, Propaganda, and Politics 234
- 10 Years Ago in *The Nation* 234
- The Trojan Horse *by Karl Loewenstein* 235
- In the Wind 237

POLITICAL WAR
- "Purifying" Italy *by Gaetano Salvemini* 238
- Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 240

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
- Koestler and the Political Novel *by William Phillips* 241
- For the Third Republic *by Albert Guérard* 243
- The Generalissimo *by Agnes Smedley* 246
- What Americans Think *by James Loeb, Jr.* 247
- Records *by B. H. Haggin* 249

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 250

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 78 *by Jack Barrett* 252

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor J. KING GORDON
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Editor Political War Section
J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Associate Editors: KEITH HUTCHISON • MAXWELL STEWART
ROBERT BENDINER [*On leave with the army*]

Assistant Editor J. MITCHELL MORSE
Music Critic B. H. HAGGIN
Drama Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager HUGO VAN ARX
Advertising Manager MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Director of Nation Associates
LILLIE SHULTZ

Board of Contributing Editors
NORMAN ANGELL JONATHAN DANIELS
LOUIS FISCHER REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

IN HIS SPEECH AT BREMERTON ON AUGUST twelfth, the President for the first time discussed the future of the Pacific bases. But he was so cautious in his approach and so sparing in details that his talk may serve chiefly to inspire loose speculation about this thorny subject. In suggesting that our interests in the Pacific require "forward bases nearer Japan than Hawaii," Mr. Roosevelt seemed to be hinting at permanent American control of the Japanese-mandated islands. That policy is, in fact, more or less taken for granted both here and abroad. What we want to know is what form that control is likely to take. Will it mean outright annexation or some kind of trusteeship which would, for instance, leave civil aviation rights in these islands open to all? With regard to the Southern Pacific islands, mostly British or French possessions, Mr. Roosevelt pointed out that they were of strategic importance in relation to the security of the Panama Canal and South America, as well as to that of Australia and New Zealand. Adding hastily that "we have no desire to ask for any possessions of the United Nations," he suggested that the problem of their protection could be solved by "friendly collaboration." Here again we feel that lack of authoritative detail gives too full a rein for interested interpretations. Some commentators on Mr. Roosevelt's speech, for instance, regard it as foreshadowing a request for perpetual leases of bases in British, French, Australian, and Dutch islands, and argue that, whatever form the cooperation of these powers took, the United States should control the defense of the whole Pacific area. We wonder if the advocates of this policy understand exactly what it would mean in terms of enlarged American responsibilities.

*

THE MEETING OF PRIME MINISTER Churchill, Marshal Tito, and Premier Subasich in Italy had a direct bearing on coming military developments in the Balkans. In Churchill's mind Tito's National Liberation Army is clearly the bridge between the Western Allies and Russia. Although Allied successes in France and Poland have diminished the importance of the Balkan front, it is still an essential part of the loop which is closing around Hitler. An Allied landing some-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where in northern or central Dalmatia may be expected at any moment. Its aim will be to cut off from Germany the dispersed German divisions in the Balkans and to separate them from the forces of the satellite nations. Turkey's new position and the imminent withdrawal of Bulgaria from the war will ease the path for the Allied armies and the Yugoslav Partisans. Tito's recent understandings with leftist and agrarian elements in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania make him the logical center of Balkan resistance. They will facilitate Russia's descent through Rumania and Bulgaria and insure active support for Allied landings in the Adriatic aimed at the Austrian frontiers. The main blow against the Nazis will probably be concentrated in the sector between Trieste, Ljubljana, and Zagreb. Hungary, sandwiched between the Russians and Tito, can offer only weak and inefficient resistance. The Salonika front, which had such enormous importance during the last war, will not be reestablished this time. The conflict will be centered farther to the north because of Russia's advance into the Carpathians and the control by the Partisan forces of northern Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Partisans, united with the Partisans in northern Italy and with the forces of the Maquis in southern France, form a real chain of peoples' armies holding open the door through which the Allied forces will drive to deliver the final blow to the Nazis.

*

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST POLISH underground forces under General Bor have been battling the Germans inside Warsaw. The uprising began when the Red Army guns could be heard hammering at the suburb of Praga, but since August 3, the Poles assert, there has been no further evidence of Russian pressure. Meanwhile the Germans have regained control of much of the city and the Partisans are fighting with a growing sense of desperation. Their plight has engendered great bitterness in Polish circles which adhere to the London government-in-exile, and the accusation is being heard that the Soviets have deliberately pulled their punches on the Warsaw front. From Moscow come countercharges; the uprising, it is alleged, was timed in accordance with political rather than military strategy, with the anti-Soviet Poles seeking to gain credit for the liberation of Warsaw. Moreover, the Russians assert, the Polish government-in-exile gave the signal without any notice to the Soviet high command. This seems to be true; in fact, according to reports from London, even the British and American governments were not warned in advance. In an atmosphere of mutual suspicion it is not hard for both sides to find circumstantial evidence of bad faith. But the known facts suggest a tragic misunderstanding caused by lack of liaison. It is reasonable to assume that Bor expected the impetus of the Red Army drive would enable it to cross the Vistula at Warsaw and sought both to impede the defense of the Nazi garrison and to cut off its retreat. The Russian advance guard which struck at Praga appears, however, to have been over-extended and to have suffered a reverse. But, in any case, it is doubtful if Russian strategy called for a frontal assault on Warsaw. Red Army practice has been to outflank such obstacles, and this aim is in the process of being realized by its deep bridgehead across the Vistula a hundred miles to the south of the city.

*

PERHAPS THE ARMY DID TRY TO PUSH THE interpretation of Title V to its logical limits of absurdity. Nothing has happened in recent years that so validates the traditional army contempt for the politician as that fantastic provision which was jammed into the Soldiers' Vote Act at the behest of Senator Robert Taft. Legislation throws a great deal of light on the mind of the legislators; the Taft amendment was plainly designed to keep soldiers in the dark about the issues of the day. Because Mr. Taft and his friends are afraid of the power of ideas, they are afraid of thinking soldiers. We believe the army carried out exactly the intentions of the legislators when they banned the books, prevented English newspapers from coming into the camps in England, kept *The Nation* and the *New Republic* off the camp library shelves and out of the post exchanges. And we think that Mr. Taft and his friends got exactly what was coming to them when the general storm of protest broke over their heads. The new amendment proclaims our soldiers adult citizens, free to accept or discard the same ideas as those to which civilians are exposed, free to think about this election and the issues which they are fighting for and which the politicians are so consistently dodging.

*

WE DON'T KNOW WHAT THE DEMOCRATS would do without Senator Taft. Most Republicans would rather be caught voting for Roosevelt than admit they'd just as soon not have soldiers vote at all this year. And they would hesitate to accuse the army of conspiring to bring about a fourth term. But not Robert. He did both in one sentence of a speech he made on the Senate floor the other day, when he accused the Army of being "unduly anxious that the very moment the state ballot fails to arrive on the first of October, everyone who can possibly vote shall get a federal ballot in his hands and shall be instructed to vote it." The Senator refrained from saying "how to vote it," but that was implied in his statement that representatives of the War Deparament "cooperated 100 per cent with the extreme New Dealers and the CIO Political Action Committee" in support of a federal ballot and that the army had issued regulations which "have the soldiers organized right down to the companies and squads to vote, in a way which no political organization can hope to match." These remarks of the Republican Senator from Ohio should go far

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toward discouraging the whole army—including officials of the War Department as well as the last private—from voting Republican. We can hardly wait for his next move.

*

HEARINGS ON THE GEORGE BILL BEFORE THE House Ways and Means Committee have confirmed earlier indications that the Democrats are not only being sadly unrealistic regarding post-war economic policy but are missing a golden opportunity to create a vote-getting issue for themselves in the coming election. While a handful of House liberals have banded together under the leadership of Representative Celler in support of the Kilgore-Murray proposals, the majority of Democrats seems more inclined to the compromise plan suggested by War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes. Mr. Byrnes accepts the George bill's basic proposals, that control of post-war unemployment compensation be left to the states. He suggests, however, that the federal government guarantee a minimum benefit of $20 to $25 a week for at least twenty-six weeks. From a short-term point of view this liberalization of benefits is important. Many states, including most of those in the South, now provide an average of only $10 or $12 a week for an extremely brief period. But it should be obvious to Mr. Byrnes and the other leaders of the Democratic Party that we cannot create post-war economic stability on a "states' rights" basis. We have fought this war and accepted its sacrifices on a national basis. Why should our war workers not receive equal protection and security during the transition period regardless of the part of the country in which they happen to have given their services?

France Regained

THE GERMANS have irretrievably lost France except for the rectangle which lies north and east of a line drawn from Le Havre through Paris to Belfort. This is the area which, as Charles G. Bolté pointed out last week, the enemy must hold "to protect the very approaches to Germany" and it is in immediate danger of penetration by General Patton's triumphant armor. In the rest of the country the Battle of France has become essentially a mopping-up operation, though it may be a bloody and protracted one. The German army in the south will no doubt fight delaying actions but it cannot afford to delay too long for its lines of retreat—eastward to Italy and northward to Germany—are already threatened. Isolated garrisons—and these now seem to include Marseilles and Toulon—may hold out desperately as did that at St. Malo but they must eventually surrender.

In the north-east, however, two German armies are still more or less intact—the 15th along the Channel Coast and in Belgium and the 1st behind Paris. With their backs to the Siegfried Line and with invasion of the Fatherland the penalty of defeat, they are likely to put up a fierce resistance. The decisive battles of World War II, as of World War I, may be fought out on the banks of the Aisne and the Somme, the Marne and the Meuse.

The German armies defending this area are believed to be strong in infantry but weak in armor and it seems unlikely that many of the 7th Army's tanks and guns will ever get across the Seine. That force has been effectively broken for, although a considerable part of it escaped from the trap closed south of Falaise, it is now threatened with a new encirclement as General Patton's swift columns push down the Seine valley to cut its retreat. Moreover, it is being exposed to an unprecedented pounding from the air. Beaten and disorganized, if not actually demoralized, it can be of little use in defending the vital rectangle so long as the furious pace of the Allied offensive deprives the Germans of any opportunity to rally their forces.

In a war of movement the maintenance of impetus is nine-tenths of victory. As long as the army with the initiative can keep thrusting forward, threatening first one flank and then another, the enemy is denied any chance to dig in and establish a stable line. All he can do is to fight rearguard actions and swap space for time, a disheartening experience for the best troops. And the Germans, unlike the Russians in 1941, have little space to swap: Paris is barely 200 miles from the nearest point on the German frontier. The big question now, therefore, is whether General Patton's army can thrust through and around Paris to carry its *Blitz* offensive onto the plains of northeastern France without a pause. If it can, the complete liberation of France will not be far distant. The answer to the question is not alone a matter of will and fighting spirit. That is in no doubt; but the army's ability to keep moving also depends on the ability of the supply services, which have hitherto performed miracles of logistics, to keep up with it.

The invading Allied army on the southern front has already established itself firmly at a surprisingly low cost in casualties. Outflanking Marseilles and Toulon its advance columns have reached Aix and are astride the great trunk road which runs north up to the Rhone valley to Lyon. In the triangle with this city at its apex and its base along the Mediterranean, there are probably no more than 6 to 8 German divisions, a very small force to hold so large an area. On the other hand, the Rhone valley, a narrow trough between two mountain ranges, would offer many opportunities for defense by the Nazis but for the fact that their positions are already outflanked. In the high and rugged country east and west of the river the *Maquis*—the French Forces of the Interior—have long been operating. Now they are ready for the kill and with their aid General Patch's forces

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should be able to turn any line the Germans may attempt to establish.

Since D-day we have learnt how ill-considered were the attempts to decry the military value of the French resistance movement. Again and again the Allied high command has paid tribute to its services. Wherever our armies go they find the French partisans already in action. They impede enemy communications, destroy his supplies, tie up his reserves, provide information about his movements. They have liberated towns and whole districts, some of them far behind the enemy lines. Above all, perhaps, they provide a psychological hazard for the Germans by their pervasive presence, depriving them of any feeling of security however far they may be from the front. A resistance movement of this kind—as the *Nation* has long maintained—could not exist unless it represented the majority of Frenchmen and received the general support of the population. Everywhere our armies have found that this is so and that the deep and wide division of opinion, which some pundits assured us existed in France, was a figment of wishful imaginations. And every day it becomes clearer that the *Maquis* does not consist of isolated groups following the whims of local leaders but is a carefully coordinated force obedient to the orders of General de Gaulle.

Nor have the fears that liberation would be the signal for horrible excesses proved well-founded. The resistance forces have been amazingly well-disciplined. In some places they have been reported as "trigger-happy" but they seem to be reserving their ammunition for the enemy. Violence against traitors has mostly been confined to shaving the heads of female collaborators—a comparatiely harmless form of safety valve for pent-up indignation. Thus after four bitter years France is regaining freedom with the aid of powerful friends but in good measure by its own efforts.

The War Surplus Bill

THE fight for full employment after the war is being lost on one sector after another. One way to achieve full employment is to maintain purchasing power through the reconversion period by the payment of adequate unemployment compensation. But the Senate has defeated the Murray-Kilgore bill and the House will probably shelve its companion measure, the Celler bill. Another weapon for the creation of a full employment economy lies in the wise disposal of government-owned surpluses of facilities, land, and goods. But the House is in the process of passing a War Property Surplus bill which will leave war surpluses securely in the hands of those who believe in scarcity economics.

This is the logical result of White House policies, which in this field have consistently appeased and served big-business forces. The appointment of Baruch and Hancock to advise on the disposal of surpluses and other reconversion problems was the first in a series of steps inevitably calculated to strengthen big business in the post-war period. The Baruch-Hancock report was followed by the appointment of Will Clayton, the world's greatest cotton merchant, a Liberty Leaguer, and a Southern reactionary, as Surplus War Property Administrator. Theoretically Congress was to guide Clayton by passing legislation laying down the basic policies for the disposal of war surpluses. Actually Clayton has been guiding Congress. The Colmer bill being passed by the House was drafted by a committee appointed by Clayton, and the right-wing coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats which rules the House has succeeded in defeating every amendment designed to safeguard small business in the disposal of surpluses and to make these surplus properties an instrument for the achievement of full employment.

These surpluses will probably amount to more than 100 billions of dollars when the war is over and might be a means of combating inflation, of ending monopoly, and of encouraging genuine enterprise in every area of our economy in the post-war period. This makes it correspondingly important for big-business interests to keep control of these surpluses securely in their own hands, which they have so far succeeded in doing. The CIO Political Action Committee proposed that the sale of government plants be conditioned on "a guaranty that the purchaser will fully utilize its entire productive capacity." Maury Maverick of the Smaller War Plants Corporation has suggested that surplus goods be sold in small lots to give smaller business men a chance to bid on them and that big war plants be subdivided for use by small enterprises. The National Farmers' Union has asked that the eight million acres of disposable land held by the government be sold in such a way as to encourage the small family farm by integrating the sale with the tenant-purchase program of the Farm Security Administration. None of these proposals stands a ghost of a chance unless labor and progressive forces make themselves felt much more strongly in the Senate than they have in the House.

Some hope of getting rid of Clayton was held out by the testimony of Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell, chief of the Lands Division of the Department of Justice, before the Truman Committee last week. Littell declared that Clayton ignored the advice of an interdepartmental advisory committee and followed the advice of the National Association of Real Estate Boards in turning disposition of farm lands over to the RFC instead of the Department of Agriculture. In doing so, Clayton provided for the use of brokers. "This decision is wrong," Littell told the committee. "Brokers are interested in high prices. You want small farmers on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

land. The government ought to see that they get back to the land. The broker is not interested in social policy. His natural customer is the big industrial farmer." But Clayton represents the big industrial farmer as he does big business generally. And as long as a man of his background is in charge of surplus-property disposal, no other policy can be expected.

Rescue Hungary's Jews!

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

SEVERAL million Jews in Central and Eastern Europe have met their death as a result of Nazi ferocity and Allied indifference. Millions of non-Jews have died, too, murdered as hostages or killed in guerrilla fighting or victims of the policy of depopulation practiced in every conquered country. But the Jews have died *as Jews,* selected for obliteration to satisfy the race mania that underlies the whole dogma of Teutonic fascism.

Done in cold blood, on a scale more impressive than any battlefield can equal, in centers specially constructed for extermination, this systematic murder of a race is without example in history. It is too vast and too terrible for the normal mind to grasp; indeed this is its protection. People react with anger to individual acts of cruelty; they hardly react at all to the impersonal horror of mass murder.

Perhaps this accounts in part for the indifference in official Allied circles which permitted the Nazi terror to mount to its present almost complete and perfect climax. It is untrue to say that little could have been done, once the war was started, to save the Jews of Europe. Much could have been done. At most stages Hitler was willing to permit his Jewish victims to substitute migration for deportation and death. But the other countries refused to take in refugees in sufficient numbers to reduce by more than a fraction the roll of those destined to die.

The planned, systematized slaughter of Jews has now been going on for two years, but not even during this period has the tempo of rescue been speeded up. Instead, our government and the British have called conferences to discuss the problem, have set up committees, have issued warnings and appeals. And the Nazis have gone on killing Jews at the rate of about 12,000 a day.

Now, as Hitler nears the end of his fraying rope, a final opportunity has opened to save some of the Jews still in Hungary. How many are involved nobody seems to know. Three or four hundred thousand were recently deported by the Horthy government at the demand of the Nazis, but several hundred thousand more probably survive. Through the International Red Cross, the Hungarian government has offered to release three specific categories of Jews: all children under ten years of age; all Jews who can obtain British certificates of admission to Palestine; and all who hold valid visas for other "countries of reception." In rather cautious terms, the British and American governments have accepted the offer. According to an announcement issued by the State Department, they "will make arrangements for the care of such Jews leaving Hungary who have reached neutral or United Nations territory, and also . . . will find temporary havens of refuge where such people may live in safety." Nothing is said about Palestine. Nothing is said about helping the Jews to escape from Hungary or about transporting them to the "havens of refuge" promised in the statement. It is a long way from Budapest to Oswego, N. Y.

But even a qualified acceptance of responsibility *is* welcome after years of inaction. The need of this moment is a clear understanding of the urgency of the situation. We must demand of our governments all speed in putting their good intentions into effect. If the Allied powers fail now to carry through a great act of rescue, their promise will have been sheer cruelty.

It is known that the Hungarian offer, limited though it was, enraged the Nazi authorities. At any time the Gestapo may begin the job of extermination in Hungary itself. Only swift action can prevent this. The first need is the immediate establishment of ports of asylum, if these are not already in existence. (Will the British really refuse admission to Palestine, even on a temporary basis, to a substantial proportion of the Hungarian refugees?) The second need is means of transportation. The feeble efforts so far undertaken to rescue Jews from Rumania have all but failed through lack of available ships.

Somehow, somewhere, ships must be found for this emergency. Troopships which have delivered their loads at Mediterranean ports could be diverted for a single errand of mercy. Transport planes returning from India or the Eastern Mediterranean could carry out of Hungary the 10,000 children to whom Sweden has offered shelter. (They should be lent or leased to Sweden for the job.) The objection will be raised that such operations would upset the schedules of troop movements and the delivery of supplies. This cannot be denied. But the problem is one of balancing need against need. A spell of bad weather would also upset schedules. The last opportunity to save half a million or more lives cannot be treated as a matter of minor concern. If the death of these people is of sufficient importance to Hitler to warrant the expenditure of the men and machines and time required for their extermination, their life should be worth something to Hitler's enemies. But we must hurry, hurry! To delay for even a few days or weeks is to deliver them to the fate that has all but wiped out the Jewish community of Europe.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dewey's Monkey Wrench

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 19

MR. HULL held a special "off-the-record" press conference here Thursday morning and spoke extemporaneously for an hour about the Dumbarton Oaks conference. I didn't get back from New York in time to attend it but I read the transcript at the State Department last night and I must confess that I was impressed. The Secretary does not speak well. He does not express himself clearly. He rambles and blithers. But I could not help feeling a deep sincerity in what he said, an intense desire to do what he can toward a permanent peace. He is at an age when a man is beyond personal or political ambition, and he wants very much not to fail. As an experienced politician, he is appalled, not merely by the task of conciliating diverse national points of view but by the even greater difficulty of making the public understand the problem and keeping its febrile mind focused upon it long enough to make solution possible.

At one point in the transcript a desperate sense of urgency made him unusually articulate and eloquent, and since this was pencilled "on the record" I quote it. "I wish," Mr. Hull said, "I could burn this into your minds and memories for the next fifty years at least, and that is, the human race this hour, this day, this week, this year is confronted by the gravest crisis in all its experience and that we who are here on this scene of action at this critical time have the responsibility of saying what way the world is going for fifty years to come." It is no moment for perfectionism, for political intransigence, or for ivory-tower blueprints. To create an entente with some measure of permanence among states so diverse as capitalist America, imperialist Britain, Communist Russia, and Kuomintang China, and to fit this entente into some kind of world organization satisfactory to lesser powers, is the most formidable political task of all history. It commands charity and forbearance and it requires compromise, but no one with the slightest imagination will fail to understand the dreadful necessity of groping our way, however blunderingly, toward a more stable world order.

It would be wise not to expect more than the most limited progress toward a new order at the Dumbarton Oaks conference. The principal participants are distinctly minor figures, in official position as in personal capacity, but they may succeed in clearing away some of the lesser problems. There is great disappointment here that the Soviet Union is sending neither Litvinov nor Vishinsky to the conference and that its principal spokesman will be Ambassador Gromyko. Some conclude from this that Moscow is not too interested in Dumbarton Oaks but I think they are wrong. I am inclined to believe that nowhere is the problem of creating a new world order being examined with greater care, sobriety, and sincerity than in the U. S. S. R. I was encouraged by a conversation reported "off the record" in the Hull transcript. The conversation took place abroad. I suspect it was at Moscow. The tone was far different from the "cynical power politics" to which Governor Dewey referred in his statement on the Dumbarton Oaks conference.

Governor Dewey agrees that Germany and Japan must "be wholly and conclusively defeated," that they must be "rendered permanently powerless to renew tyranny and attack," that to insure this the United States, the U. S. S. R., Britain, and China "must maintain their present unity." He agrees that the responsibility for keeping Germany and Japan disarmed "cannot immediately be delegated to a world-wide organization while such an organization is yet new and untried." He says he has consequently advocated the maintenance for some time after the war of close military cooperation among the four powers so that if the Germans or the Japanese hereafter seek to evade their disarmament, we may strike quickly, together, and with overwhelming might."

But since neither Germany nor Japan is likely to venture a new war, or to be in a position to do so, for a decade or two at least, one would like to know what Dewey means by "some time after the war." One would like to know what alternative mechanism he has in mind to enable us to "strike quickly . . . and with overwhelming might" in the event of a renewed attempt at aggression ten or twenty years hence. To say that we cannot leave the maintenance of peace "to the sanction of force alone" and that we "must promote a world opinion that will influence the nations to right conduct" will pleasantly remind the German General Staff of Warren G Harding's plea for "a new relationship to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice." The new relationship turned out to be the old isolationism, and even the most determined American isolationist has never refused to give the rest of the world the benefit of this kind of high moral preachment.

Governor Dewey says that to leave "the long-term solution of international problems . . . exclusively in the hands

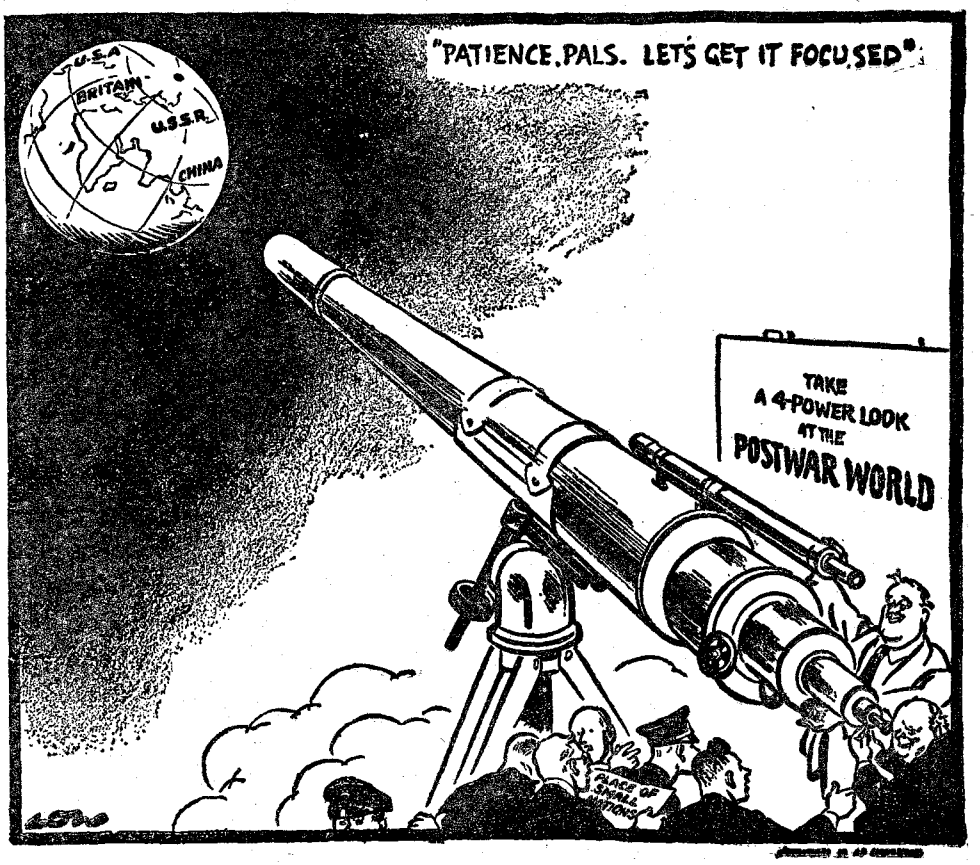
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of a permanent military alliance of four victorious powers would be immoral." If it could effectively maintain world peace, it wouldn't be half as "immoral" as drifting in a lukewarm sea of platitudes to World War III. The key word is "exclusively," which begs the question, like the rest of Dewey's statement. No one proposes to leave the long-term solution of international problems "exclusively" to a permanent military alliance of the big four. Dewey says he is "deeply disturbed" by "some of the recent reports" about the Dumbarton Oaks conference which seem to him to "indicate" a plan to "subject the nations of the world, great and small, permanently to the coercive power of the four nations holding this conference." This, too, is a straw man of Dewey's own making.

If the big four fall apart, the chances of maintaining world peace will be slim. If they stay together, does that constitute the "cynical peace" (to which Dewey objects) in which four powers "dominate the earth by force"? "As Americans," he says, "we believe with all our hearts in the equality and the rights of small nations. . . ." This is true of small nations not within our own sphere of influence. Most American governments have given a strong imperialist twist to the Monroe Doctrine, and even the American progressive is unlikely to let abstract concern for the equality of small nations override considerations of hemispheric security. What would we say to a fascist putsch in a Central American country where we suspected German influence at work? What would Dewey and his party say about the equality of small nations if Cuba expropriated American sugar mills and utility companies? What does Dewey mean when he links his plea for the smaller powers to the statement that "peace is a task of cooperation among equal and sovereign nations"? Does it mean that Sweden should have an equal voice with the United States in deciding what to do about Argentina? Does it mean the majority principle in international councils or the old rule of unanimity which crippled the League of Nations? Dewey nowhere gets down to the real issues.

No one knows just what Dewey was talking about. It is believed that he had in mind the proposals for a new international security organization put forward by N. Malinin in *Zvezda,* the Leningrad organ of the Union of Soviet Writers. I have obtained the full text of this article, significantly enough from the State Department, and I must say the sober and moderate ideas put forward by the Russian resemble very little the caricature so loftily denounced by Dewey. One of the factors to which Malinin, like most observers, attributes the failure of the League was the necessity for a unanimous vote in the Assembly. He agrees with President Hambro of the Norwegian Parliament "that in the future each tiny state cannot be allowed to impose an absolute veto or enjoy the right to dictate to the great powers, even if only in a negative fashion, how they must act." Malinin recalls that four small states, Switzerland, Australia, Hungary, and Albania, blocked economic sanctions against Italy during the Ethiopian war. He suggests that in the future international organization the rule of unanimity be replaced by majority vote on minor questions, a two-thirds vote on "more important decisions imposing serious obligations." Does Dewey consider majority rule coercive of the smaller nations? Does he favor the rule of unanimity?

Malinin believes that the future protection of peace against renewed aggression will require (1) quick action, (2) more than a special international police force, and (3) specific understandings among the great powers. "It is quite apparent that in all cases in which the League displayed its inactivity," Malinin says, "only the great powers, singly, in groups, or together, could have halted aggression. It must not be forgotten also that decisions regarding effective repelling of aggression must



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be adopted and carried out in the briefest possible time, taking into account the fact that in the modern age wars are begun by aggressors without preliminary warning and that preparation for them proceeds under cover of the deepest secrecy. . . . Again, it is only the great powers . . . which have the necessary military and industrial resources. And they cannot be replaced by any union of small states, which would be shattered by the aggressor one by one." This is realism, not cynicism. If the peace of the world is to be entrusted to a kind of world diet, Polish style, in which any one member can veto action, we might as well begin preparing now for World War III.

Dewey, who was for an Anglo-American alliance to police the world, now warns us not to sink into "the abyss of power politics." A world order in which the big four played a dominant role would be "the rankest form of imperialism." The spokesman of American finance capital thunders out against "reactionary" purposes and the ex-isolationist wants a perfect world society "of cooperation and joint effort . . . based on freedom, equality, and justice." Provided it can be achieved by pulpiteering. Dewey's statement, taking into account its content, timing, and shoddy vagueness, seemed designed primarily to rally the Polish and other national minority votes for the G. O. P. ticket. That incidentally it might throw a monkey wrench into the Four Power Meeting was a risk the Republican candidate cheerfully accepted. However, his foreign policy adviser, Mr. Dulles, appears to have realized the irresponsibility of such tactics and, to mix a metaphor, has volunteered to pull Mr. Dewey's monkey wrench out of the fire.

Will Hague Defeat F.D.R.?

BY JAMES KERNEY, JR.

MAYOR FRANK HAGUE of Jersey City is a millstone around the neck of President Roosevelt. And the President probably will pay for the heavy weight of the Democratic overlord with New Jersey's sixteen electoral votes.

Three times President Roosevelt has carried New Jersey with strong help from the well-oiled machine of Mayor Hague. In 1940 the vote in Hague's own Hudson County was the deciding factor. The machine there ran up a 101,000-vote plurality, while Roosevelt carried New Jersey by only 72,000. That is the explanation for the President's feeling that he needs Hague. But Hague needs the President too, this year, for Hague is being pushed hard in his home state.

It is difficult for anyone outside New Jersey to understand the tremendous power Hague wields. Even some Jerseymen have been hard to convince. But those who live in the narrow confines of Hudson County, with its million people directly across the river from New York City, have a clear knowledge of what it means to buck "the Hall," as Hague's machine is known.

The best example of the penalty for fighting Hague on his home grounds is John R. Longo, successor to a long line of independents who either have been beaten into submission or have allied themselves with Hague in self-defense. Longo is a young Italian who rose to prominence by attacking Hague's machine as an independent Republican. In 1942, in the course of battling the Hague organization, Governor Edison appointed Longo Deputy County Clerk of Hudson County. Shortly after this appointment, Longo was indicted by a Hudson County Grand Jury for fraudulently altering his voting record. The trial was filled with perjury, some of it so open as to be outright scandalous on its face. At present under appeal to the New Jersey Supreme Court, the Longo case is by no means settled. With the active backing of Governor Edison, Longo has produced evidence indicating that the Hague prosecutors knew by the testimony of their own handwriting expert that their charge had no basis.

Such a miscarriage of justice could occur only where the political machine owned the courts. Hague has for years manipulated the juries, prosecutors, judges, election boards, and tax assessors of Hudson County. They were outright agents of the machine, and powerful ones. Any critic of His Honor was likely to find his tax assessment raised, his right to vote impugned, and he was lucky, indeed, if he wasn't arrested for fraudulent voting, or gambling, or any of a dozen other offenses.

On the other hand, members of the organization found their taxes lowered and had a soft time in their contacts with government. No member in good standing ever suffered from all the petty charges of violating city ordinances which fill the lives of ordinary city dwellers. The precinct leader took care of that. However, it was chiefly through control of tax assessments and voting records that Hague maintained his domination. Of course, he realized the need for delivering something positive. Jersey City maintains one of the finest and certainly the most expensive police departments of any large American city. Excellent, though costly to the taxpayers, are the hospitals at the disposal of all citizens. Jersey City, its ruling mayor likes to say, is a people free from vice. By vice His Honor means loose women. Hud-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son County has for a long time been the center of organized horse-race gambling in America. But by the simple process of expulsion, Jersey City is kept free from gangsters.

So great is the fear of Hague in Jersey City that everyone has learned not to oppose his wishes. And so much does this affect election returns that it has not been uncommon for voting districts to register three hundred votes for Democratic candidates and one vote for the opposition, despite the fact that there were *two* Republicans standing watch at the polling place even if no others turned up.

The Longo case, incidentally, offers evidence of the strange and strong tie-up between the Hague machine and the Administration. Satisfied that Longo was abused, Governor Edison a few days before leaving office asked Attorney General Biddle to investigate the civil-liberties aspect of the case. A month ago the Attorney General answered in a public statement, conveniently coinciding with the hearing of Longo's appeal before the New Jersey Supreme Court, in which half-truths and omitted facts were used to prove that there was never any doubt of Longo's guilt. It seemed apparent that a Presidential election year was no time to start cleaning up Hague.

The cleansing job, nevertheless, is under way. Charles Edison started it in 1940 when he resigned as Secretary of the Navy and was elected to a three-year term as Governor of New Jersey. For three years he battled Hague, always finding his way blocked by the pro-Hague Republicans from small, rural counties of South Jersey, who controlled the legislature through a rotten-borough system. Governor Edison was never entirely successful, but he dented Hague badly, partly by replacing the Hudson County Tax Board, which had been responsible for outrageous abuses in tax assessments, and even more by promoting the need for a new state constitution in New Jersey. Hague hates the suggestion of this change, although Woodrow Wilson and every Governor of New Jersey since has, at one time or another, suggested the need for revision. But Hague finds the present system fine. His followers have populated the bench and frequently gotten to be Governor, and he has never had too much trouble persuading the legislature to do what he wanted.

As Edison left office last January, his place was taken by an old-line Republican, Walter E. Edge, who had been Governor of New Jersey during the first World War and subsequently had been in the United States Senate and served as Ambassador to France. Edge returned from virtual retirement, welded the Republican Party into a unit, which it had not been for years, and laid out a progressive program which surprised the people who expected him to be a stodgy Old Guardsman.

In his first few months in office Governor Edge reorganized the Hudson County election and jury systems, and replaced Hague's men in the prosecutor's office and on the Hudson County bench. Worst of all, carrying the fight to Hague's heart, Edge pushed a new constitution through the legislature, and New Jersey voters will have a chance this November to replace their decrepit old document with a new basic law simplifying the courts, limiting the legislature's power, and strengthening the executive officers. These changes hurt Hague badly. He is fighting the new constitution with everything he's got. But since Edge stripped him he hasn't got as much as he used to have. Now he is dependent on federal patronage to boost his chances. He hopes to ride to victory on Roosevelt's coat-tails.

It was obvious, then, that Hague would take his forces in Chicago wherever the Roosevelt leadership wanted them to go. If the President was for Wallace, so was Hague. If Truman got the nod, it was fine and maybe better with the boss of New Jersey Democracy.

The only hitch, from the point of view of Roosevelt's supporters, is that the President is still saddled with Hague. He cannot have Hague's support, without bearing the stigma that goes with it.

Four years ago, when Roosevelt won by 72,000 votes in New Jersey, Edison was elected Governor by 65,000. In 1942, Albert Hawkes, a Republican big-business man, was elected United States Senator over the incumbent William H. Smathers by a 90,000 majority. The biggest campaign issue was Hagueism. Last year Governor Edge was elected by a majority of 125,000. Even worse was the beating Hague took on the referendum proposing the draft of a new state constitution. Hague lost that one by 150,000, and just about the only issue of the campaign was Hagueism.

This year Hague cannot deliver as he has in the past. The Hudson County election machinery is in new hands. The prosecutor's office won't arrest Republican election workers on election day, and the new county judges will not spend their time November 7 issuing dozens of funny and too often phony writs. Hague will still carry his home county, but the votes won't pile up as high as they once did. In addition, Hagueism has become a big issue in the national campaign, as far as New Jersey is concerned.

Unless the Roosevelt forces strain every effort, campaigning as never before, New Jersey is lost. The smart strategists working for Dewey have already started to pound the Hague-Roosevelt alliance. They can be counted on to make the most of an issue which now interests more Jerseymen than ever. The independents, always hard to decipher, expressed their approval of a new constitution last November. Every sock Hague takes at the new constitution drives more voters into the Dewey camp. Unless the trend is changed, and quickly, New Jersey will return a majority of more than 100,000 for the Republican ticket this November.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Polls, Propaganda, and Politics

Women in the Election

IN THE course of the campaign much attention is paid to the people who don't know for whom they intend to vote, but whose decisions will supposedly be crucial in the election. Actually, these people are important only in a closely contested election where 1 or 2 per cent means victory or defeat. In general, if the "Don't Knows" in the public opinion polls do vote, they will distribute their votes approximately like the people who have already made up their minds earlier.

These undecided citizens are mostly women. There are about three times as many "Don't Knows" among them as among men. This column made a special poll among two thousand five hundred women, representing a fair sample of large industrial cities in the North. About half of these women did not intend to vote or had not yet decided for whom to vote. Women who have jobs are slightly more willing to vote than the housewives, and indecision increases slightly with lower economic status.

The latent disposition of the undecided can be inferred from the intentions of women who have made up their minds. As far as big industrial centers go, Roosevelt's lead is very strong and easily stratified by economic status. The sample was divided into three strata: the upper income group, 30 per cent; the middle income group, 40 per cent, and the lower income group, 30 per cent. Eighty-five per cent in the lower group intend to vote for Roosevelt and 73 per cent in middle group. Even women in the upper group who have made up their minds intend to go 50 per cent for Roosevelt. This is true only for the large-city sample. It is well known that as one proceeds to smaller towns and then to farm areas, the proportion of Republicans increases.

Among these women one finds again a clear-cut relation between age and vote intention. Younger ones are more likely to vote for Roosevelt. If forty is taken as the dividing age, Dewey is 10 per cent more popular with the older group than with the younger. It will be interesting to see whether the argument of the Republicans that they are the party of young men will influence this age difference between Republicans and Democrats.

With millions of men in the armed forces, women constitute the majority of eligible voters and are of prime concern to both parties. It is therefore interesting to turn to an opinion poll conducted by the *Woman's Home Companion*. The data are based on mail returns from two thousand readers who are questioned periodically. The panel is certainly not a representative cross-section of American women. Still, on topics where their opinions are very marked, the results of the last year can offer useful leads for party managers.

The outstanding attitude shown by these women is *internationalism*. They were asked, "Should there be a permanent congress to act upon international disputes?" and 92 per cent said, "Yes." Then they were asked, "Should we grant such a body the power and means to enforce its decisions?" and 95 per cent said, "Yes." When asked about nine possible planks for party platforms, the highest agreement (93 per cent of those with opinions) was on a world congress for international disputes. Even when internationalism was brought down to sacrifices for their own families ("Would you be willing to accept rationing and food restrictions after the war to help feed foreign nations?") the accord was still 92 per cent. On these questions, in samples of the total population, 70 to 80 per cent usually approve.

Last week we reported a comparison between the AIPO (Gallup) estimate that in June 51 per cent of the already-decided major-party vote was Democratic and the *Fortune* (Roper) estimate (same time, same basis) 56 per cent. Since then the *Fortune* estimate has receded slightly to 53 per cent, July 8, and 54.5 per cent, August 5. (Figures in the *Fortune* press release have been adjusted to correspond with our consistent practice of including within 100 per cent only the people who made a choice). The most striking change has been in the proportion of undecided voters, which *Fortune* reported as 21 per cent in June, 8 per cent in July, and 3.6 per cent in August. The attitude type of question, "Which do you *want* for President?", used by *Fortune* in August, got many fewer "don't know" answers than the AIPO question, "How would you *vote?*".

BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH
Columbia University, New York

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AGAIN FRANCE IS HOVERING on the verge of a crisis. Herriot and Tardieu—the liberal and conservative antipodes in the Doumergue Cabinet—are threatening each other with vengeance and destruction and the weak structure of the present government bids fair to crack under the impact of their blows.—*August 1, 1934.*

FOR MANY YEARS the Wisconsin Progressives have exerted their efforts within the Republican Party, seeking to capture its nominations and write its platform. Therefore, their recent decision to break away from the Republican Party and form a party of their own is of national interest and significance.—*August 1, 1934.*

THERE IS ONE IMPORTANT, and really encouraging, difference between the Europe of 1914 and the Europe of 1934. There is one Great Power today which is bound by no alliances, secret or open, which is genuinely determined not to become involved in a world war which would spell defeat or set-back of a domestic program to which it is passionately devoted, a Power which all the other Great Powers in varying degrees hate and fear. Soviet Russia, of course. Soviet Russia is the chief check-rein on Western Europe today; the only encouraging feature in a sky which otherwise looks so much more troubled than the horizon of 1914.—LEWIS S. GANNETT, *August 8, 1934.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Trojan Horse

BY KARL LOEWENSTEIN

THE Atlantic Charter has lost, under the impact of bitter realities, so much of its lustre that instead of being the cornerstone of a saner future it might become an insurmountable obstacle to durable reconstruction. Particularly objectionable appears Article Three, which grants to "every people the right to choose the form of government under which they will live."

The term self-determination has a double connotation. It means external self-determination, the sovereign right of a people or nation to form its own state, and it means internal self-determination, the likewise absolute right of a people when constituted as a sovereign state to organize itself internally as it sees fit.

It is submitted here that there is no absolute right of internal self-determination, and consequently, that the victorious states must be prepared to claim, and must be permitted to exercise, the right of intervention in the internal affairs of any state which "chooses" a "form of government" constituting by its nature and potential development a threat to their own security and to universal peace. This thesis is in head-on collision with firmly established theory and practice. For more than a century no responsible authority has dared to challenge the equality, sovereignty, and independence of states as the premises of the law of nations. Non-interference with the form of government of other nations is the logical corollary. Intervention in the internal affairs of another state is anathema to liberal international thinking.

Yet it may repay us to look into the little-known origins and antecedents of the doctrine. It is no older than the French Revolution, which proclaimed it as a measure of political warfare against the attacks of monarchical Europe. But in their own practices the missionaries of the democratic trinity of liberty, equality, fraternity gave it no more than lip-service. Napoleon, executor of the testament of the revolution, discarded it altogether and pushed governments like pawns over the European chessboard. Likewise the Holy Alliance most emphatically repudiated the right of internal self-determination. In order to stabilize the peace of Europe, Metternich and Alexander asserted the right to intervene in the internal government of any state within their sphere of influence in case their chosen form of government, legitimate monarchy, was threatened by "revolution," that is by liberal, democratic, or Jacobin movements. The tide turned again when Britain, in the once famous and now forgotten "Instructions" of Lord Castlereagh of January 19, 1821, disassociated itself from legitimacy. Castlereagh's successor, Canning, pointedly answered Metternich and Alexander: "Each nation for itself and God for us all." England thus became the liberal champion of internal self-determination and non-intervention, an honorable position which it has held ever since, with occasional slight deviations of imperialistic tinge. The bad odor which clings to the concept of intervention in the internal affairs or the "form of government" of other nations dates from its application in the anti-liberal policies of the Holy Alliance.

In the age of nationalism the new doctrine of non-intervention spread irresistibly over Europe and the world. Our version was the Monroe Doctrine (1823). Internal and external self-determination were fused into one. Political *laissez faire* became the credo of liberalism, the Gibraltar of international law and practice. Not even the most revolting outrages of a depraved government against its own people or against a defenseless minority would justify what the theorists like to style "humanitarian intervention." Persecution of Poles, Hungarians, Armenians, Jews evoked at best paper protests of public opinion abroad.

Our recent relations with the Latin-American states have been based on the solemn mutual undertaking of non-intervention in external and internal affairs as repeatedly stipulated in international treaties (Montevideo, 1933; Buenos Aires, 1936; Lima, 1938) and scrupulously observed by us. Likewise the Covenant of the League of Nations, which was to consist only of "fully self-governing" states (Article 1), bowed to the principle of strict indifference to the internal affairs of the member states. In indiscriminate generosity it gathered to its bosom unashamed or camouflaged dictatorships as well as democracies.

But, it may be asked, are we really to remain impervious to the tragic experience of our age? Hecatombs of innocent victims have been sacrificed because the despots were permitted, under protection of the dogma of internal self-determination, to extinguish the freedom of their own people and then to turn their loathsome practices of internal lawlessness against other nations.

It is axiomatic that the conduct of foreign policy is dependent on the internal form of government. Only governments are aggressive, not peoples. Peaceful peoples take to the sword only when they are attacked;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they do not attack themselves. The common man is peace-loving and does not wish to go to war and die. It is incontrovertible that since the Napoleonic period all major international wars have been started by authoritarian monarchies or dictatorships which internally had succeeded in enslaving their own peoples, depriving the common man of his birthright to repudiate his government and war.

Therefore, it must be insisted that after this war there shall be no autocratic governments which, befogging the minds of their muzzled people by unopposed propaganda, can drag them and us into war. Peace and the democratic form of government are indivisible and inseparable. The world has become too small and nations too technologically interdependent to allow the peaceful living together of two systems of government so diametrically opposed as are democracy and autocracy. The League of Nations failed because it was impossible to square the circle and reconcile, within one and the same organizational frame, democratic governments believing in the rule of law internally and internationally, and autocracies which believed that they could practice violence externally because they could perpetrate it with impunity internally. Lincoln's word that the union cannot be half slave and half free holds true today for the wider union of the community of nations.

It is a salutary sign of a growing consciousness of this trouble that the President of the United States in his Lincoln's Birthday address of 1943 modified the rigor of the doctrine as follows: "The right of self-determination included in the Atlantic Charter does not carry with it the right of any government to commit wholesale murder, or the right to make slaves of its own people or of any other people in the world." But it is bewildering, to put it mildly, to read in Mr. Churchill's address of May 24, 1944, that while Germany cannot claim any rights from the Atlantic Charter, other states may choose whatever form of government they please. "The internal political arrangements in Spain are a matter for the Spaniards themselves. It is not for us to meddle in these affairs as a government." This attitude would preclude a repetition of the calamitous error committed in 1918, when the Germans promptly turned the Fourteen Points to their own advantage; but, at the same time, it would stabilize fascism and dictatorship elsewhere. Great Britain, thus, seems unable to divest itself of a dogma which, if applied, would once more split the world into incompatible systems of government. Does it mean also that the authoritarian-minded cliques-in-exile, who happen formally to represent peoples allied with us, derive from the Atlantic Charter the right to continue, after the liberation, their anti-democratic regimes? Royal dictatorship is as odious as its Caesarist counterpart.

The customary objection to interference with the internal organization of other states is that "we cannot ram our form of government down the throats of other nations." It is true that no constitution imposed by force from outside will work. Some argue that certain nations are given to authority by nature, or at least by historic habit. But the contention that any people has freely and of its own volition "chosen" autocracy is a palpable historical untruth. The peoples of the world did not choose their autocratic monarchs, nor did they choose their dictators. Even Hitler, on March 5, 1933, obtained not more than 44 per cent of the votes and this only by unprecedented election terror. In the same Lincoln's Birthday address quoted above, President Roosevelt declared: "No nation in all the world *that is free to make a choice* is going to set itself up under the Fascist form of government or the Nazi form of government. Such forms of government are the offspring of *seizure of power followed by the abridgement of freedom.*" (Italics mine.)

Herein lies, in this writer's opinion, the key to the solution. Democratic and constitutional government should not be imposed by command from without, but it should be given a chance to grow from within by popular acceptance. If we are not to ram democracy down the throats of other peoples, we may, for a change, allow them to develop it. The majority of the people everywhere want autocracy as little as they want war. We must make the peoples themselves the custodians of their own freedom and their own form of government.

In order to translate the basic postulate of limiting the choice of the form of government to the democratic solution the following suggestions, tentatively formulated, are submitted:

(1) Each of the defeated Axis nations and its satellites is to undertake in the armistice or peace treaty the obligation to arrange, at a time to be determined by the United Nations, elections for a Constituent Assembly charged with the elaboration of a constitution for which the democratic-constitutional form of government is mandatory. No specific conditions as to the type of constitutional order should be imposed except that the government must correspond to the rationally ascertained will of the people and must at all times remain accountable to it.

(2) Elections are to be held under the control of the United Nations, or of an international police if by that time it has been created. Certain categories of discredited people, such as Nazi officials, prominent sympathizers, notorious turncoats, collaborationists, and so on, are to be excluded from eligibility by law. Nor are parties with anti-democratic platforms, leaders, or techniques permissible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(3) The elaboration of the constitution is subject to supervision by what may be called here, for want of a better term, "the Inter-Allied Constitutional Control Commission." It has the right and the duty to veto such provisions as constitute a potential danger to the operation of a democratic form of government.

(4) The constitution must contain a democratic Bill of Rights endowed with the same validity as the constitution itself. Among its provisions must be included a new individual freedom, namely the right of the citizen "to participate in his government by democratic elections." This right is indispensable to make the citizens the permanent keepers of their own freedoms, and, simultaneously, to guarantee all other individual and social freedoms, which are operative and secure only in a democratic-constitutional state.

(5) At the request of the Inter-Allied Constitutional Control Commission the constitution adopted by the National Assembly is to be submitted to popular ratification. If a nation should fail to elect a National Assembly whose majority is sincerely pledged to democracy, or to write for itself a democratic constitution, or to ratify it by at least a two-thirds majority, it would indicate beyond reasonable doubt that such a nation is not qualified for self-government and thus cannot enjoy internal self-determination.

The Inter-Allied Constitutional Control Commission shall continue to operate as the "watchdog," with teeth in its mouth, over internal political developments until such time as it has satisfied itself that a government is firmly established and conducted in conformity with the principles of the constitutional, democratic state.

Technical details of this plan—of which there are many—cannot be discussed here. What is proposed is no more and no less than a political tutelage over certain nations, the duration of which will depend entirely on the nation itself. It is readily admitted that the plan is incompatible with the dogma of internal self-determination in its traditional sense. But it is not incompatible with the dignity of any nation which embraces the democratic way of life and, what is more important, adheres to it. Repentance must precede forgiveness. Public opinion seems agreed upon imposing on the aggressor nations and their satellites certain military, economic, and financial restrictions—such as disarmament, financial controls, raw materials only for peace requirements—as essential curbs on external and internal self-determination. Compared to these merely negative conditions, the plan outlined here appears positive and constructive. It will enable a nation to redeem itself by its own efforts and to regain, with its self-respect, the confidence of other nations. But the first step toward this goal is to dispel the myth that every nation has an inalienable right to choose the form of government it pleases.

In the Wind

IN VIEW of the official Dewey position that it is easy for soldiers to vote without benefit of the quick federal ballot, some Republican should have had enough political sense to kill this ad that appeared in the Charlotte, N. C., *News:* "It is 10,000 miles to New Guinea, so it will take months to get your soldier's or sailor's absentee ballot out there and back. HURRY! HURRY! HURRY! Apply for his absentee ballot right away. Get your official forms and information at the Dewey-For-President Club."

THE STATE, Columbia, S. C., is a newspaper of unimpeachable conservatism; its editor, Sam Latimer, is a native South Carolinian who could not by any stretch of language be called a Negrophile or a Northern Agitator. Therefore we consider this brief editorial a notable straw in the wind: "Without reference to any pending case, which, like all others, must be decided on merit, as judged by prescribed authority, we wish to say that in our opinion those Negro teachers, having similar training and doing similar work, should be paid the same as white teachers."

ON THE OTHER HAND, Senator Russell of Georgia threw this beam of light on the Philadelphia strike: "If there had been no FEPC, not a single man-hour of war production would have been lost, and there would have been no racial disturbances or bitterness."

MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED one-room schools in Oklahoma will not open this fall, for lack of teachers.

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW who represents France in the United States, don't look under "Foreign Diplomatic Representatives" in the Congressional Directory. The listing there says, "France: (Diplomatic relations severed by France on November 8, 1942.)" That's all.

IN ENGLAND, the London *Daily Mail* reports, trade names on canned and packaged foods will not be sufficient after January 1. In order that the housewife "can see exactly what she is buying," labels will have to carry "the usual name of the food."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Poland's vodka industry has been heavily capitalized by the Nazis. Fifty million quarts a year are reserved for the exclusive use of Polish peasants. The underground movement is conducting an intensive "dry" campaign. . . . Belgium is becoming infested with bandits. A number of those who have been captured have turned out to be German deserters. . . . The Nazis recently arrested a large number of Frenchmen as hostages, and were shocked to find that they were all faithful collaborationists. Somebody had stolen the list of patriots who were to be arrested and replaced it with a list of Vichyites.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Purifying" Italy

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL Henry Thompson Rowell acts as Educational Officer for the AMG in Rome. He is "responsible for the purification of Rome's cultural life," as we were told by Homer Bigart, correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*, on July 16. Colonel Rowell set to work by asking Beniamino Gigli, the tenor, to sing for a gala performance in honor of the Allied Armies. Gigli had earned a good deal of money at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, but when he returned to Italy he did not hesitate to make various insulting remarks about the United States. Gigli was a loyal Fascist. During the terrible period from September, 1943, until May, 1944, when the citizens of Rome were being mowed down by the Nazis, he sang frequently for the entertainment of German officers. "Yes, it is true that I sang for the Fascists and for the Germans," Gigli told the correspondent of the Associated Press, "and now that the Americans and British are here, I would like to sing for them too."

Believe it or not, there are Italians in Rome today who do not intend to be "purified" by Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell. They raised such a rumpus that the Colonel had to rush Gigli off the scene. But the Colonel is determined to purify Rome's cultural life at any cost. Consequently, he entrusted Maestro Bernardino Molinari with the task of conducting Beethooven's Ninth Symphony. Molinari had also been a loyal Fascist and had selected an orchestra for the German high command.

Again the Romans answered the Colonel, implying that he would be wiser if he went back to teaching Latin at Johns Hopkins. As Homer Bigart informed us, "The politically-minded gallery whistled, cat-called, and made such a hubbub that Molinari was unable to proceed. 'What about that automobile Maelzer gave you?' yelled one member of the anti-Fascist claque. (Maelzer was the German commandant of Rome.) 'How about those concerts you gave for the Tedeschi (Germans)?' another shouted." Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell "tried to silence the demonstration," but he could not arrest "the flow of abuse from the gallery."

If Washington or London had been under Nazi occupation, as Rome was from September, 1943, to May, 1944, would Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell have asked pro-Nazi tenors and conductors to participate in gala performances and concerts in honor of British or American "liberators"? AMG lieutenant-colonels must come to realize that at the height of Mussolini's "benevolent despotism," when they were visiting Italy's monuments guided by wretched men who would have found themselves in jail had they not sung the praises of Mussolini, thousands of Italians were languishing in prisons or on penal islands, or were being starved and humiliated by a regime that was really the "negation of God." Whoever arranges performances in Italy today with Fascist tenors or Fascist conductors as the guest stars, whoever consorts with high officials of the Fascist military and civil hierarchy, with Fascist mayors, Fascist business men, Fascist gentlewomen, Fascist bishops, whoever does that challenges the moral code of the whole people.

The incidents in Rome are a taste of what will happen in Florence, Leghorn, and Ancona on a larger scale. As for Bologna, Genoa, Turin, Milan, and Venice, American and British officials and commandants will do well to travel about in armored cars, unless the mistakes they have made in southern Italy are corrected quickly.

As part of the purification of Rome's cultural life, Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell is responsible for "restoring the university to its former greatness," Mr. Bigart has reported. Rowell chose as temporary rector of the university Professor Giuseppe Caronia, a specialist in infectious diseases. Caronia, in addition to being a good scholar, is an honest man, who was unjustly treated under the Fascist regime and who will undoubtedly carry out his task in a spirit of justice and with common sense. One only wonders why the choice was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell and not by the Minister of Public Education in the Italian Cabinet. AMG officials should supervise the work of the Italian authorities so that it does not interfere with the war effort, but they should not continue to wear the mantle that rightfully belongs to Italian authorities when the war effort cannot possibly be affected by local affairs. The Minister of Public Education, Signor De Ruggiero, no less than the other Cabinet ministers, has been blessed with the approval of the Allied Control Commission. He is a learned and honest man. The duty of "purifying" the University of Rome and all other universities should be vested in him and not in a gentleman from Baltimore, Maryland.

But Lieutenant-Colonel Rowell held the reins tightly in his hands. He announced that, like music, "the university must remain above politics." He set up a committee, not to "purge" or "purify" the university—those

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

words, he said, were "too strong"—but to "rehabilitate" the university. And he appointed to serve on that committee two ardent Fascists: Dr. Nicola Spano and Professor Filippo Vassali. Commenting on these appointments, an Italian paper published a cartoon which showed a black-shirted man hurrying down the street, saying: "I have been appointed to the purification committee and I have not even had time to change my shirt." When he realized that he had blundered, Colonel Rowell disclosed that he had "received and accepted Vassali's resignation." As for Dr. Spano he was retained as administrative director of the university.

The more one reads about what is being done in Italy, the more one is compelled to ask oneself whether our bigwigs really intend to make America and England hateful to all democratic Italians. An American professor has been sent to Italy to take care of the Italian archives. Do the gentlemen in Washington really think that an American professor is needed for that job? Where the archives have been bombed away, there is no need to take care of them anyway. And where they still exist, their old personnel exists too. As a rule, these are good, devoted, helpful people, who know and cherish as their own children each and every paper in their custody. Putting an outsider in charge of the Italian archives is an insult to hundreds of decent and humble men to whom the archives are home and life.

Jewish communities are also being "purified." This means that the Jews are not allowed to purify themselves but that the purification is foisted on them from above. Under Mussolini everything came from above. In "liberated" Italy, everything still comes from above. Thus Commendatore Angelo Sullam has been chosen from above as head of the Jewish community of Bari. Of course, he was once a loyal Fascist. And Signor Silvio Ottolenghi has been chosen from above as commissioner for the Jewish community of Rome. Of course, he was also a loyal Fascist. On May 25, 1937, they signed a statement to the effect that "the Italians of Hebrew faith are, and in unambiguous terms announce that they are, enemies of every Hebrew and non-Hebrew, Masonic, subversive, and especially anti-Fascist internationale."

Not only Italy's cultural life, not only Italy's archives, but Italy's penal code has to be purified. This task, fortunately, can be performed in New York. *PM* has told us that the International Commission for Penal Reconstruction and Development has entrusted the Chief Clerk of the Court of Special Sessions in New York with the task of expurgating fascism from the Italian penal code. Do the gentlemen of that International Commission think that there are no jurists in Italy? Do they think that Italy's legal life is a vacuum to be filled with printed paper from New York? I am not a lawyer by trade, but I suspect that if those gentlemen were not allergic to common sense, they would send into Italy the draft of a bill consisting of no more than three articles: (1) political crimes committed by Fascists shall be investigated and punished according to the Fascist code; (2) all other crimes shall be investigated and punished according to the code that was in force before the March on Rome, October 28, 1922; (3) amnesties granted to political criminals after October 28, 1922, are null and void.

> The underground newspaper *Le Gaulois* offers the following pointers on how to recognize a democracy:
>
> *"In a democracy you write your letter on a letterhead, you sign it, and the person to whom it is addressed is the first one to read it.*
>
> *"Scoundrels are in prison.*
>
> *"If someone whistles under your window, it can only be a friend calling you.*
>
> *"You don't have to envy people who have apartments with two exits.*
>
> *"And finally, the business man who displays a picture of the head of the state in his shop window can be an honest man just the same.*
>
> *"Given this information, we are confident that our readers will unhesitatingly rally behind Monsieur Laval when the Allies try to destroy our democracy!"*

While denouncing these blunders, we must not forget the intelligence, imagination, skill, and resourcefulness which America, Britain, and Russia are displaying in the field of production to make that war effort possible. We must not overlook the magnificent job that AMG officers are doing in Italy, against tremendous odds, in fighting epidemics, rehabilitating bridges, roads, aqueducts, and power stations, and in feeding the population. Wherever material obstacles have to be overcome, Anglo-Saxon ingenuity performs miracles. But one can admire miracles in the field of material endeavor and yet be sorry for the ineptitude that becomes apparent every time moral and political problems are tackled.

To be fair, one must admit that the blunders made in Italy in an attempt to "purify" Italian life and "reeducate" the Italian people to democracy are often prompted by a sincere desire to help a people which is in great need. But Britain and America have a queer bias toward Europe. Continental Europe, Britain and America believe, is inhabited by inferior races. There is a brutal doctrine of the German *Herrenvolk* and there is a suave, sugar-coated doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon *Herrenvolk*. Roman civilization died of consumption, and it was a great pity; it was the best the ancient world could produce, and its collapse brought about centuries of barbarism and suffering. It would be a great pity if Anglo-Saxon civilization came to an end; it is the best the modern world has produced.

If it ever comes to an end, it will die not of consumption but of presumption.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

AN ASSORTMENT of eight German army officers was hanged on August 8. That much we can believe. However, we should be wary of believing everything that Berlin has told us about the affair. It has revived a widespread tendency to swallow whatever soup is cooked in Dr. Goebbels's kitchen.

In spite of those photographs, which are supposed to have been taken in the courtroom, it cannot be said with absolute certainty that there was actually a "trial" in the dread "people's court." It is quite possible that the photographs are false. But even granting that there was a trial, we are completely in the dark as to what was proved or disproved or how much of the testimony was genuine and how much was faked. For it was a secret trial. An official "report" of two thousand words, released by Goebbels's office on August 8, is absolutely all the information we have. Now there is nothing to prevent the Ministry of Propaganda from writing such a report to suit its own convenience. It can put into the mouths of the accused any words it pleases. It is the sheerest gullibility to take its "reports" literally. Besides, this particular "report" is extraordinarily inept.

The indictment under which the eight officers were tried, according to the "report," had three counts: (1) conspiracy to kill Hitler; (2) conspiracy to usurp authority; (3) conspiracy to surrender to the enemy. Observe that the official "report" of the "trial" doesn't contain a syllable of testimony on the last count—not a single question or answer concerning the alleged conspiracy to surrender. On the conspiracy to usurp power, this idiotic story is not even consistent as to the person who was allegedly slated to succeed Hitler. On the first page it is General Beck; on the last page it is a Dr. Goerdeler. The author of the "report" got tangled in his own yarn!

But the most egregious piece of humbuggery in the whole story is the background of the alleged attempt on Hitler's life. Major General Stieff "confessed" that one Colonel von Treskow had told him last summer that Hitler would have to be killed by "explosives" during a military conference. During the succeeding months the major general was twice asked to make the attempt himself—first by General Beck and later by Colonel von Stauffenberg. He declined the honor, but volunteered to keep the explosives until they were needed. Then an unnamed relative of Colonel von Stauffenberg procured "British explosives" and "British fuses" from certain unnamed Englishmen. (All the high officers in Germany, with hundreds of thousands of tons of explosives at their command, apparently couldn't get their hands on any of them.) The unnamed relative gave the British explosives to the accused Lieutenant von Hagen, who turned them over to Major General Stieff. The latter hid them for many long months. Finally, at the command of General Olbricht, the "administrative manager of the plot," he handed them over to the alleged would-be assassin, Colonel von Stauffenberg.

It can safely be said that a person who believes this idiotic comic strip will believe anything. And the whole story of the "trial" is of the same quality from beginning to end. It is a cheap, talentless farce unskillfully pasted together, just like the story of the Reichstag fire, with which the Nazis opened their act. We read with a smile the words which the "report" puts into the mouth of the Nazi fanatic Rudolf Freissler: "Even the burning of the Reichstag is eclipsed by the deed committed by these defendants."

Contrary to general belief, this official "report" of the "trial" does not substantiate the Nazi version of the "plot," but actually discredits it more than ever. There is no doubt that countless old-line officers believe the war is lost and consider Hitler the worst obstacle to be overcome if it is to be ended while there is still something left of Germany. But notwithstanding the nonsense which the Nazis themselves have produced, there is no evidence whatsoever that this feeling had crystallized in an organized plot. The long and short of the matter is that the Nazis have once again heeded Machiavelli's advice to all autocrats: "A prince who is menaced by his followers should not give them time to do anything." To all appearances, the Nazis have succeeded in forestalling anyone and everyone who might possibly have taken part in a double-cross à la Badoglio.

At the same time they are trying to distill a usable by-product out of the mess. It has been observed on all sides that a new "stab-in-the-back" legend is being built up in Germany. The defeat of 1918 was explained by the legend that the "home front" had prevented the army from carrying the war to a successful conclusion. That story always had one disadvantage: it insulted 70 or 80 or 90 per cent of the population—until the Nazis thought to limit the blame to Jews, Catholics, and Communists. But the guilt-legend which the Nazis are now building up is aimed exclusively at the top 5 or 10 per cent of the population, and seems therefore to have a better chance of being accepted by the other 90 or 95 per cent—if not today, then tomorrow.

So far as I can see, no one has yet noted or appreciated the fact that since the alleged attempt at assassination the Nazi Party has conducted a steady and increasingly virulent agitation against the aristocracy and the upper bourgeoisie as traitors, criminals, and enemies of Germany. This agitation, which goes back to the original Bolshevik model, and which at times has a tone that seems calculated to loose a pogrom against the "blue-blooded swine," is one of the most interesting phenomena of the Nazis' death-agony. Details next time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

KOESTLER AND THE POLITICAL NOVEL

BY WILLIAM PHILLIPS

SOCIAL moods somehow find their spokesmen; and just as the political novel of the thirties worked the theme of revolutionary faith, so the current product is steeped in the skepticism of the radical movement today. But, ironically, the present phase, which was inaugurated by Silone and Koestler, is more nearly on the level of the subject in its grasp of the tensions of political life—in a way, it is a revaluation of its "proletarian" past.

It is clear by now that the failings of left-wing fiction, from the very beginning, were due largely to the factional exploitation of writers and writing; and that the type of documentation, known as social or socialist realism, which became its literary creed was nothing more than an unconscious strategy for evading the larger issues. It was really a throwback to the "slice-of-life" formula of popular fiction —a method that could not possibly carry the weight of a new sensibility and a new consciousness. As for the political reality ostensibly recorded by the left novel, it was but the official time-table of the class struggle. From Malraux down, the radical writer conceived of himself as an inspired reporter who drew the pathos of the present from the certainties of the future. But what is an inspired reporter if not an uninspired novelist, a creator of photographic unreality?

It would be a mistake, however, to write off the entire genre as a literary aberration, for it was a natural response to the radicalism of the time. The truth is that the present period is predominantly political. Not only have we come to read our fate in political terms; even our values and our versions of experience have been politically accented. Perhaps the surest index of an epoch is its image of itself as expressed in its idea of the relevant and the contemporary and there is no lack of evidence that our measure of relevancy today is largely political, while our anxiety over events has led almost to making a fetish of the contemporary.

But how was the novel to cope with this new outlook? Obviously more than a flair for the topical, which was actually the stock in trade of most left writers, was called for. Only through a more generalized or symbolic approach was it possible to convey the shadings and crossings of belief, the moral turns, the psychic plights—all the motives and meanings of the political world.

All great literary efforts have sprung from the more advanced states of consciousness in society. In fiction the strategic characters have been abstracted from those specially placed and dominant types, through whose consciousness the inner movement of society revealed itself. Thus the modern tragic hero, from Hamlet to Joseph K., has been an intellectual, or, more precisely, a man of sensibility, who has taken upon himself the burdens of civilization as a whole, and in his various guises and mutations has reflected the changing stresses of Western thought.

The political person is in this sense a central figure today. I am, of course, thinking mainly of the left orbit, where politics has taken over practically all human and theoretical concerns. And under the heading of the left we might include all varieties of belief from the faintest liberalism to the most intransigent revolutionary stance. This is not to discount the serious doctrinal differences, but, from a broader view, all liberals and radicals may be said to have a common stake in the fortunes of the left, for not only are they affected by each other's activities, but many, if not most, of them have actually made the rounds of the various movements. Hence a kind of composite type of the political personality might be drawn from the liberal and radical world. For the purposes of literature, however, the truly typical is not the composite. It is created out of extremity—out of the most critical and complete experiences. The really significant political figure is therefore a man of consciousness who has been crucially implicated in the major turns, who has been made and unmade by them. The conversion to the cause, the days of faith and the days of conscience, and, more recently, the great exodus, the atonements, and the overhauling of beliefs—all have left their mark on him.

In his most extreme form he is a victim of a kind of revolutionary trauma, having been transformed from a zealot of socialism to a martyr to an illusion. The type is actually familiar enough. He may be a functionary, a writer, a professor—it does not matter. We have all seen him at meetings and in the press, dispensing his factional sophistries with an air of messianic innocence. He is militant, high-minded, single-tracked, enormously skilled in the strategies of orthodoxy, and a master of rationalization. His thinking, which is compounded of casuistry and faith, is essentially tribal in character, with its own assumptions and norms, as though he lived in some self-sufficient culture distinct from our own. And in a way he does, for his very being is a projection of the contradictions of the Russian Revolution. This accounts for the ambiguity of his nature, which combines a strain of genuine idealism with an apparently boundless cynicism and depravity. And what is his frozen mentality, which harbors the most arbitrary and irreconcilable notions, if not the congealment of the Russian dilemma into a religious structure? Hence he is constantly at odds with the accepted intellectual and radical tradition, harassed by its moral pressures, and unnerved by doubts and anxieties. When he finally breaks with the movement, he becomes uneasy—almost neurotically guilty—about his political past; and he usually seeks either to purge himself of it through confession and expiation, or to conceal it by slipping quietly into his new position. In either case, he soon adapts himself to an ideology of realism and compromise, which nowadays passes for normality. The cycle of his career covers the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

depths and excesses of the radical world; yet he is truly symptomatic of the stunted idealism and panic of the last decades.

Throughout the triumphant era of revolutionary fiction, however, not one such character made his appearance in the novel. His part was filled either by the socialist man of action, who was a militant conformist, or the little man of inaction, who was a meek non-conformist, both of whom simply obeyed the laws of history, one positively, the other negatively. Thus the left novelist violated not only his own consciousness, or perhaps we should say the consciousness he should have possessed, but also the tradition of fiction. For was not the left novelist himself a political character? And he had only to follow the example of the modern novel and create the revolutionary hero in his own image to depict his true compulsions and perplexities. Yet not even in Malraux, who of all the earlier radical writers was best equipped to extend the modern tradition, do we find any one figure bearing the mentality of the left. In "Man's Fate," undoubtedly the outstanding novel of the entire period, Malraux's consciousness seemed to be dispersed in a form of atmospheric excitement and in the tenseness of his characters. In his later novels, he succumbed quite naturally to the prevailing pieties.

Not until the recent novels of Silone and Koestler do we get anything like a fusion of literary and political tradition and a maturity of approach. In fact, the taut, anxiety-ridden, and self-conscious hero of both Koestler and Silone, who seeks to salvage his identity from the remnants of his conscience, recalls the alienated and disintegrated figure of modern writing. And while the *political* novel obviously is still far below the standards of the *art* novel, still, in the hands of Silone and Koestler, it has at least become a meaningful literary expression.

Of the later works of these two writers, "Arrival and Departure" strikes me as the most meaningful. For despite its many deficiencies, which have been noted in the pages of *The Nation* and elsewhere—in some ways it is little more than a showpiece—Koestler's novel displays a remarkable feeling for the dilemmas of the political intelligence. And while he lacks, too, Silone's pathos of the human, Koestler is nevertheless far more sophisticated and relevant in the deployment of his material than Silone, who is mainly sensitive to the resonance of revolutionary politics in the life of the European peoples. Where Spina represented the dissolution of socialism in the mystique of mankind, both Rubashov and Peter Slavek stem directly from the sources of political consciousness. Thus Rubashov is a symbolic figure of that almost pathological combination of faith and cynicism that is at the core of the Communist movement, while Peter Slavek is the radical intellectual of today who can neither hold on to nor give up his socialist vision and finds himself acting not so much out of conviction as desperation.

In fact, the story of Peter may be taken as a parable of the revolutionary life in both its political and psychological aspects. Peter's political progress sums up the history of the radical movement, from its earlier devotional excesses to its present bafflements and frustrations, while his psychic development follows the corresponding shift from a state of compulsion to a state of paralysis. This, it seems to me, is the meaning of the confessional episode, where Peter digs into his unconscious for his political motives. Koestler's point is not, as some reviewers have construed it, that politics can be reduced to neurosis, but that the balking of the political ego is a neurotic event. For the truth is that in recent years political life has taken on a neurotic character—with the classic symptoms of disorientation, inner searchings, and the fatal ambivalence of the need both to believe and disbelieve—as the Marxist generation, reared in the school of militancy, hope, and theoretical rectitude, has been thwarted by the collapse of its cause.

This combined development of the psychic and the political is further exemplified in the primary symbolism of the novel. Thus Peter cannot walk since, as the analyst puts it, he does not know where to go; and he ransacks his childhood memories for the clues to his revolutionism because it no longer has any political meaning for him. Similarly, the theme of surrender, which appears in Peter's succumbing to a political empiricism and a *practical* view of the war, is echoed in Odette's refrain of submission, "After all—why not?" and in Dr. Bolgar's therapeutic advice to Peter to fulfil himself in the present, "to cultivate a garden." And there seems to be a distant affinity, too, between Dr. Bolgar's lesbianism, which is hardly typical of the profession, and Peter's last-minute decision to join the Allied armies instead of retiring to America, for both suggest an irresponsibility—or a triumph?—of the natural; in Dr. Bolgar a denial of social restraints to assert her natural libido, in Peter a casting off of theoretical restraints to satisfy a political impulse.

Also, Peter's psychic restoration amounts to more than a clinical routine. It is essentially a duel between Dr. Bolgar, who in negating all values posits the values of the present, and Peter, who tries to preserve a political perspective by distinguishing his values from his phobias. And it is true that in a literal sense Dr. Bolgar is the victor, as Peter finally abandons himself to the realities of the present. Still, a more figurative reading of this theme is possible, for there is an all too evident and disconcerting parallel between the plight of Peter and that of the radical intellectual generally, who surely cannot be said to have been stripped of his values or political ideas by psychoanalytical casuistries. After all, even after Peter has been delivered from his neurotic confinement, he is still unable to extricate himself from his political bewilderment—a predicament that has at least as much to do with history as with psychology.

Apparently Peter is a self-portrait, as politically agile and aware as Koestler himself. And though he is too schematically conceived and exists mostly on the tip of the author's tongue, he is undoubtedly the most advanced political character in recent fiction. If anything, he is almost too advanced, too typical of the present state of the left and of those modern intellectuals whose traditional alienation has acquired a political meaning and a neurotic form. Where the left writers of the thirties failed to measure up to their subject, Koestler is completely on top of it, pinning down all its implications and squeezing the last bit of historical meaning out of his characters.

Peter is a case-study of the political hero.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the Third Republic

GALLIC CHARTER: FOUNDATIONS OF TOMORROW'S FRANCE. By J. C. Fernand-Laurent. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

FERNAND-LAURENT* is a Parisian lawyer, journalist, and politician. Long an Independent, he joined in 1938 the moderate Fédération Républicaine. A safe and sensible man, an orthodox Republican well right of center, and a true patriot: I think he would accept this as his personal equation.

Any book about "Tomorrow's France" must be mostly about the France of yesterday: no nation, not even Meiji Japan, Kemalist Turkey, or Soviet Russia, can jump away from its long shadow. Fernand-Laurent begins his story with the foundation of the Third Republic, and he devotes more than half his book to the chronicle of this drab and stodgy regime. Lafayette had recommended Louis Philippe as "the best of Republics": in return, the Orleanists in 1875 had to accept the Republic as the best available *Ersatz* for a monarchy. Pacifist, Revanchard, and colonialist, democratic with a Royalist constitution, "heart on the left, pocketbook on the right," the bewildered hybrid tottered for nearly seventy years. It was hardly more confused than our own, but it was exposed to infinitely greater dangers.

Fernand-Laurent shows convincingly that the Vichy coup d'état in 1940 followed a familiar pattern. MacMahon was the first Pétain. Boulanger, backed by Royalist gold and vaudeville songs, promised a "national revolution." The Nationalist movement at the time of the Dreyfus Affair was a looser Boulangism. On the sixth of February, 1934, the stage was set for another coup, and Hervé was already clamoring for Pétain. The rule of Doumergue was a pathetic imitation of an autocracy. With the exception of Napoleon I, the French have an inevitable flair for picking the weakest Strong Man in the market. MacMahon was an honest simpleton; Boulanger a black horse and a blond beard with no brains; Papa Doumergue, "Gastounet," had been for seven years a smiling King Log. In the Dreyfus crisis no man could be found: Marchand declined the job, and General Roget, whom Déroulède wanted to draft, happened to have a Republican horse which loyally refused to head for the Elysée. Of all these sorry supermen, Pétain is the feeblest. Fernand-Laurent confirms the well-known fact that the Marshal hates and despises his maker, Laval. Yet he said, "M. Laval and I are one." This is not mere senility. In 1918 the hero of Verdun was already a defeatist.

In 1938 France was no more prepared for modern war than England or America. The military deficiencies could not be blamed on Parliament but on the confusion and old-fogyism of the army leaders, the staff formed and dominated by Pétain and Weygand. Fernand-Laurent was a member of the Military Affairs Committee, and his unpartisan testimony agrees with the unspoken verdict of the Riom trial.

Fernand-Laurent gives a very intelligent and vivid summary of the discussions that led to the armistice. In that crisis Mandel appears as a tower of strength: he, Louis Marin, and Herriot are the author's favorites. Pétain, Laval,

* The hyphen, I take it, means that he is "the" Fernand Laurent, not just any Fernand Laurent; a kind of self-conferred Republican nobility. Cf. "Les Thibault."

A Study in the American Political System and HOW it Works

Government of the People

New and Enlarged Edition

By D. W. BROGAN

London School of Economics

A NEW and enlarged edition of the book which has become a classic in its field. There is an extended introduction, and Professor Brogan includes the innovations that have appeared on the American political scene in the last ten years.

"MR. BROGAN will, I think, be found to have written the most illuminating treatise on American government since the late Lord Bryce's famous volume of fifty years ago. His pages are not merely distinguished by a wealth of knowledge to which, probably, no living Englishman can pretend; they also have the power to describe a system in movement, the capacity to grasp the living dynamic which animates an institutional framework, which are among the rarest qualities in political science."
—Harold J. Laski, the Foreword.

$4.00

HARPER & BROTHERS • 49 E. 33rd St., N. Y. 16

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ONE-SHOT-WHILE-THEY-LAST SALE OF GOOD BOOKS!

We are clearing our shelves of hundreds of books which won't be reprinted. This is necessary in order to make room for hundreds of new books now being planned. This means a wonderful chance to pick up numerous bargains AS LONG AS THE BOOKS LAST, WHICH CAN'T BE LONG. We feel it won't be necessary to reprint this advertisement. It's certain to clean out every title we want to dispose of. For that reason, act promptly. You can get a wonderful library of fine books at extremely low cost if you will go through the list below now, check off the ones you want, and rush us your order. As an added inducement we are figuring everything on a DELIVERED PRICE. Just send us the amount stated below and you'll get your parcel of books CARRIAGE CHARGES PREPAID. This sale positively closes when present stock is sold out. This is a new low in prices for these books. We promise to ship books the same day we receive your order. Remember, these books are NOT Little Blue Books. They are our larger volumes, measuring 5½ x 8½ inches in size, card-covered. Minimum order $1 worth. Take your choice of these book bargains before it's too late! This is a RED-HOT SALE, which means you have the chance of a lifetime to get the best kind of reading matter at almost give-away prices.

ALL PRICES INCLUDE CARRIAGE CHARGES.

THE PICTURESQUE AND ADVENTUROUS LIFE OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK—By Joseph McCabe. 75c.

LIFE OF JOSEPH STALIN—The Rebel and the Statesman—By Joseph McCabe. 60,000 words. 75c.

THE LIFE OF CHURCHILL—The man and his creed—By Joseph McCabe. 75c.

SAM BASS, THE TRAIN ROBBER—The Life of Texas' Most Popular Bandit. By H. N. Castleman. 25c.

KATE BENDER—THE KANSAS MURDERESS—The Horrible History of an Arch Killer—By Allison Hardy. 25c.

THE MORMON PIONEERS, or The Great Salt Lake Trail—By Allison Hardy. 25c.

HINTS ON THE ORIGINS OF BELIEFS AND BEHAVIOR—A Practical Philosophy of Life for Skeptics—By D. Milton Whiteside. 25c.

THE BALD KNOBBERS—The Story of the Lawless Night-Riders Who Ruled Southern Missouri in the 80's—By H. N. Castleman. 25c.

THE TEXAS RANGERS—The Story of an Organization That Is Unique, Like Nothing Else in America—By H. N. Castleman. 25c.

THE LIBERTY OF MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD—A Lecture—By Robert G. Ingersoll. 25c.

CONFESSIONS OF A GHOST-WRITER—Peter Nemo. 25c.

THE FACTS ABOUT BASIC ENGLISH—By Miriam Allen deFord. 25c.

ENERGY—the Creator of Thought—By Theodore J. Vollkommer. 25c.

MARRIAGE AND COURTSHIP CUSTOMS AMONG PRIMITIVES—By John H. Burma, Ph.D. 25c.

AMERICANS WHO THOUGHT THEY WERE GODS—Colorful Messiahs and Little Christs—By Vance Randolph. 25c.

GUN-FIGHTERS OF THE OLD WEST—By William Yancey Shackleford. 25c.

WILD STORIES FROM THE OZARKS—By Vance Randolph. 25c.

BELLE STARR, THE BANDIT QUEEN—The career of the most colorful outlaw the Indian Territory ever knew. 25c.

THE TRUTH ABOUT NARCOTIC DRUGS—How to avoid being a dope-fiend—By Wm. Y. Shackleford. 25c.

CONFESSIONS OF A BOOZE-FIGHTER—What happened when an alcoholic took the Keeley Cure. 25c.

THE MEANING OF ALL COMMON GIVEN NAMES—By Miriam Allen deFord. 25c.

THE RATCLIFFE MURDERS—By Thomas De Quincey. 25c.

NEWEST DISCOVERIES IN ASTRONOMY—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

NAZIS AND THE STATE OF GERMANY—By Joseph McCabe. 15c.

THE CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN—By Joseph McCabe. 15c.

IMPERIALISTIC JAPAN AND ITS AIMS—By Joseph McCabe. 15c.

A BOOK OF PUZZLES, PROBLEMS AND BRAIN-TEASERS—Compiled by E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

TELEVISION—WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

YOUR BODY AND ITS FUNCTIONS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WHAT VITAMINS AND DIET WILL DO FOR YOU—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WOMEN WHO BECOME MEN—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

EARLIEST MAN IN AMERICA—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

OUR WONDERFUL GLANDS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

HUMAN BODY, AND HOW IT WORKS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

PHALLIC ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS AND CULT OF LOVE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WHAT SHOULD BE TAUGHT ABOUT SEX—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

ZADIG, OR DESTINY—Voltaire. 25c.

CANDIDE—By Voltaire. 25c.

AN EYE FOR AN EYE—Clarence Darrow. 45c.

A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY—By Laurence Sterne. 25c.

THE FUN I GET OUT OF LIFE—Autobiography—E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

SORROWS OF YOUNG WERTHER—By Goethe. 25c.

THE WISDOM OF LIFE—Schopenhauer. 25c.

COUNSELS AND MAXIMS—Arthur Schopenhauer. 25c.

ON LIBERTY—By John Stuart Mill. 25c.

RESIST NOT EVIL—Clarence Darrow. 25c.

CLARENCE DARROW'S TWO GREAT TRIALS—By Marcet Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

DARROW'S PLEA FOR DEFENSE OF LOEB AND LEOPOLD—A gripping plea for the lives of the two boy murderers. 89c.

CULTURE AND ITS MODERN ASPECTS—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

SNAPSHOTS OF MODERN LIFE—Essays by E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

CLIPPINGS FROM AN EDITOR'S SCRAPBOOK—Essays by E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

SENSIBLE VIEWS OF LIFE—Is sex sinful?—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

ALGEBRA SELF-TAUGHT. 25c.

STUDIES IN RATIONALISM—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

CONFESSIONS OF A DEBUNKER—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

THE BUNK BOX—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

FREE SPEECH AND FREE THOUGHT IN AMERICA—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

AN AGNOSTIC LOOKS AT LIFE—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

MYTHS AND MYTH-MAKERS—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

THIS TYRANNY OF BUNK—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

THE ANTI-CHRIST—By Nietzsche. 39c.

FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

HOW THE UNIVERSE IS CONSTRUCTED—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

HOW LIFE SPRANG FROM MATTER—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

HOW LIFE DEVELOPED—By Joseph McCabe. 20c.

DOES ATHEISM REST ITS CASE ON LOGIC?—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WOULD A GODLESS WORLD MAKE FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS OR DECLINE?—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MAN'S MASTERY OF LIFE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

STORY OF THE EVOLUTION OF MAN—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

LIFE AMONG THE MANY PEOPLES OF THE EARTH—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

TRUTH ABOUT AIMEE SEMPLE McPHERSON—By Louis Adamic. 29c.

MYRIAD MYSTERIES OF THE MIND—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MAN'S STORY OF HIMSELF—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WONDERS OF ANCIENT EGYPT AND BABYLON—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

SPLENDORS OF GREECE AND ROME—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

STRANGE CIVILIZATIONS OF INDIA AND CHINA—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

TRUE PICTURES OF EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

STIRRING STORY OF THE RISE OF MODERN EUROPE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

DAWN OF THE NEW AGE AND BIRTH OF MODERN SPIRIT—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICA—By Joseph McCabe. 20c.

MAN AND HIS SUBMISSION TO BEING RULED—By Joseph McCabe. 20c.

MANUAL OF MONEY AND WEALTH—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

STORY OF HUMAN SOCIAL IDEAS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

HOW MAN ACQUIRES AND SPENDS HIS MONEY—By Joseph McCabe. 20c.

IS PHILOSOPHY OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM OUT OF DATE?—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

STORY OF ECONOMIC IDEALS IN MAN'S SOCIAL STATUS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

GREAT WRITERS OF ANTIQUITY—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

GREAT WRITERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

GREAT MODERN WRITERS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WRITERS OF TODAY AND THEIR MESSAGES—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

ANCIENT ART EXPLAINED—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MEDIEVAL ART EXPLAINED—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

THE ART OF THINKING—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

STORY OF PHILOSOPHY—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

STORY OF HUMAN EDUCATION—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

ALL ABOUT PSYCHO-ANALYSIS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MORALS AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

THE MORALS OF THE SAVAGE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MORALS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

PERSONS AND PERSONALITIES—By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

CRITICAL REVIEW OF LATEST CLAIMS SUPPOSED TO GIVE VALIDITY TO GOD IDEA—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MORALS IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MORALS IN THE ARAB-PERSIAN CIVILIZATION—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

THE MORAL LIFE OF CHINA AND INDIA—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

LIFE IN EUROPE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

THE EFFECT OF THE REFORMATION ON MORALS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MORALITY IN THE 19TH CENTURY—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

CHANGING MORALS OF TODAY—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WHAT SEX REALLY IS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

REASON OR FAITH: WHICH SHALL PREVAIL?—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

(Continued on opposite page)

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, Box B-6, Girard, Kansas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from preceding page)

ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE SEXES—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WOMAN AND MARRIAGE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

ABNORMAL ASPECTS OF SEX—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WOMAN AND THE CREATIVE URGE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WHAT IS THE "MYSTERY" OF WOMAN?—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

QUEST FOR SEXUAL HAPPINESS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

GERSHWIN AND AMERICAN MUSIC—By Isaac Goldberg. 20c.

ARE THE LATEST DISCOVERIES IN SCIENCE GIVING SUPPORT TO THE GOD-IDEA?—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

IS POSITION OF ATHEISM GROWING STRONGER?—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WHAT WAR AND MILITARISM COST—By Joseph McCabe. 20c.

THE WONDERS OF THE ATOM—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MUSIC FOR EVERY MAN—By Isaac Goldberg. 25c.

THE SEXUAL LIFE OF MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD—By Dr. Isaac Goldberg. 20c.

CONFESSIONS OF A YOUNG MAN—By George Moore. 25c.

IS THEISM A LOGICAL PHILOSOPHY?—Debate—Rev. Burris Jenkins and E. Haldeman-Julius. 20c.

ICONOCLASTIC REACTIONS — By E. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH OUR SCHOOLS?—Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius. 20c.

HOW TO PUBLISH YOUR OWN MAGAZINE—Every phase explained, for professionals and amateurs. 20c.

A REPORT OF THE REV. J. FRANK NORRIS' TRIAL—By Marcet Haldeman-Julius. 20c.

THE MAID OF ORLEANS—Friedrich von Schiller. 25c.

APPEAL TO REASON, No. 1—25c.
APPEAL TO REASON, No. 2—25c.
APPEAL TO REASON, No. 3—25c.
APPEAL TO REASON, No. 5—25c.
APPEAL TO REASON, No. 6—25c.
Each of the above 5 volumes of the Appeal to Reason Library contains at least 60,000 words (128 large pages), of educational, scientific, critical and historical outlines by Joseph McCabe, the world's greatest scholar.

THE SIGN OF THE FOUR—By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. 25c.

THE STORY OF A WOMAN'S HEART—By Guy De Maupassant. 25c.

DUST—Mr. and Mrs. E. Haldeman-Julius. 49c.

SHOULD CHURCH PROPERTY BE TAX EXEMPT?—By Harry Hibschmann. 20c.

THE KING AND MRS. SIMPSON—By Marcet Haldeman-Julius. 20c.

WILD BILL HICKOK—King of the Gun-Fighters—By Alllison Hardy. 25c.

FUNDAMENTALS OF A DANCE EDUCATION—By Ted Shawn. 25c.

SOCIAL SCIENCE THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY—By Harry E. Barnes. 20c.

A SANE FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE U. S.—By Harry E. Barnes. 20c.

THE CASE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE—This problem is important to every American. 15c.

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION—By Harry E. Barnes. 20c.

RHYTHM METHOD OF BIRTH CONTROL—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

HOW TO KEEP YOUNG—By Marcet Haldeman-Julius. 20c.

THE STORY OF MY HEART—By Richard Jeffries. 20c.

POPE'S ENCYCLICAL ON BIRTH CONTROL—Pope PIUS. 20c.

SCENTIMENTAL WIND-BREAKING—By Benjamin Franklin. 20c.

ON HOW TO CHOOSE A MISTRESS—By Benjamin Franklin. 20c.

SEX PROBLEMS IN MODERN SOCIETY—By Dr. R. S. Yarros. 25c.

AMERICAN BANDITS—20c.

THE VALUE OF FREE THOUGHT—How to Become a Truth-Seeker and Break the Chains of Mental Slavery—By Bertrand Russell. 25c.

THE SELF EDUCATOR—50 vols.—By Joseph McCabe. $2.50.

AN OUTLINE OF INTELLECTUAL RUBBISH—A Hilarious Catalogue of Organized and Individual Stupidity—By Bertrand Russell. 25c.

FROM GODS TO DICTATORS—Psychology of Religions and Their Totalitarian Substitutes—By Dr. Pryns Hopkins. 80,000 words, 160 large pages. $1.

HOW TO READ AND UNDERSTAND HISTORY—The Past as the Key to the Future—By Bertrand Russell. 25c.

AN OUTLINE OF MARXISM—A world view by Joseph Efries. 50c.

PEACE AND WAR—U. S. FOREIGN POLICY. 1931-1941—Compiled by the State Department. This much-discussed "White Book" contains about 80,000 words. Complete text. 65c.

PHOENIX—How to Rebuild the World—By H. G. Wells. 50c.

HOW TO BECOME A PHILOSOPHER, A LOGICIAN AND A MATHEMATICIAN—By Bertrand Russell. 30c.

THE NEW RIGHTS OF MAN—By H. G. Wells. 25c.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER—15c.

AUTOMOBILE USERS' GUIDE—14c.

"ASLEEP!"—Full text of official Roberts' report on Pearl Harbor. 14c.

NIETZSCHE'S ARISTOCRATIC RADICALISM—By G. Brandes. 25c.

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR—By Robert Blatchford. 25c.

GETTING THE MOST OUT OF LIFE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

HOW TO VALUE OLD COINS—This book will help people who want to know what coins are worth. 20c.

HOW TO WRITE FOR THE LABOR PRESS—20c.

A COMEDY OF MANNERS—By Benjamin Disraeli. 20c.

MICHAEL ANGELO — TITAN OF ART—By Emil Ludwig. 25c.

REMBRANDT—HIS AMAZING LIFE AND WORK—Biography by Emil Ludwig. 25c.

A DEFENSE OF PHILOSOPHICAL SKEPTICISM—By Sir Leslie Stephen. 25c.

A STORY OF PRIMITIVE LOVE—By Robert W. Chambers. 25c.

LOVE AMONG THE HAYSTACKS—By D. H. Lawrence. 25c.

INFERIORITY COMPLEX ELIMINATED—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

INTERNATIONAL FREETHOUGHT ANNUAL—By a group of Rationalists. 25c.

GREAT AND MIND-LIBERATING THOUGHTS—25c.

DIARY OF A NIGHT CLUB HOSTESS—By Irene Dale. 49c.

HOW FREETHINKERS MADE NOTABLE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

WHAT WE LAUGH AT—AND WHY—By Isaac Goldberg. 39c.

FAMOUS SCANDALS IN AMERICAN HISTORY—By M. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

SHACKLES OF THE SUPERNATURAL—By Wm. J. Fielding. 39c.

POPULAR HISTORY OF THE U. S.—By Marcet Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

FAMOUS UNSOLVED MURDER MYSTERIES—By Marcet Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

GREAT COURT TRIALS OF HISTORY—By M. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF OUR PRESIDENTS—By Franklin Steiner. 49c.

WILD WOMEN OF HISTORY—By Henry Thomas. 25c.

FUTILITY OF BASIC RELIGIOUS IDEAS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

JUMBO JOKE BOOK—25c.

THE PRICE WE PAY BECAUSE OF VENEREAL DISEASES—25c.

HOW TO IMPROVE YOUR ENGLISH IN SPEECH AND WRITING—25c.

MODERN SEX BOOK — Contains seven sections by various authors. 49c.

JANE ADDAMS AS I KNEW HER—By Marcet Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

FAMOUS GUESTS AT A KANSAS FARM—By Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

THREE GENERATIONS OF CHANGING MORALS—By M. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

LOVE'S COMING OF AGE—By Edward Carpenter. 25c.

FACTS ABOUT VENEREAL DISEASE—T. Swann Harding. 25c.

GIBBON ON CHRISTIANITY—By Edward Gibbon. 25c.

McCABE'S ANCIENT GREAT MEN SERIES—In three attractive volumes. 83c.

IN PRAISE OF FOLLY—By Erasmus. 25c.

THREE BOOKS IN ONE—By Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes. 25c. This important book by Dr. Barnes contains: 1. The Lures of Sex. 2. The Beginnings of Modern Civilization. 3. How the Power of Catholicism Was Undermined.

GREAT GENIUSES OF THE MIDDLE AGES—By McCabe. In 8 volumes. 83c.

MISTAKES OF MOSES—By Robert G. Ingersoll. 25c.

MEN WHO MADE THE MODERN WORLD—By Joseph McCabe. $1.85.

WHAT CAN A FREE MAN BELIEVE?—By E. Haldeman-Julius. In 3 vols. 41c.

IS RELIGION NECESSARY?—Debate. Clarence Darrow vs. Rev. Robert MacGowen. 20c.

GREAT IDEAS MADE SIMPLE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

FACTS ABOUT THE U. S. GOVERNMENT—Tells about every department and function of our government. 25c.

WEAVERS OF WORDS—By Henry Thomas, Ph.D. 85c.

RISE AND FALL OF THE GOD IDEA—By Joseph McCabe. 85c.

FROM MONKEY TO MAN—By Maynard Shipley. $1.15.

STORY OF THE HUMAN RACE—By Henry Thomas, Ph.D. In five volumes. 75c.

THE HISTORY OF SEXUAL MORALS—By Joseph McCabe. $1.80.

THE KEY TO LOVE AND SEX—By Joseph McCabe. 3 vols. $1.55.

WHAT I HAVE LEARNED ABOUT ANIMALS—By Marcet Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

SPURTS FROM AN INTERRUPTED PEN—By M. Haldeman-Julius. 25c.

VOICE OF GENIUS DOWN THE AGES—By Victor Hugo. 25c.

LIBERTY BOOK OF QUOTATIONS—Compiled by Rex Eastman. 25c.

BOOKKEEPING AND ACCOUNTING SELF TAUGHT—25c.

A BOOK OF POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

SLAYERS OF SUPERSTITION—25c.

OUTLINE OF TODAY'S KNOWLEDGE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

THE RIGHT WORD—Will Improve Your English—By W. F. Forbes. 20c.

AMERICAN RATIONALIST ANNUAL—1st edition. 29 brilliant contributors. 25c.

A BOOK OF AMAZING CONFESSIONS—By various authors. 25c.

HOW TO BECOME A WRITER—Twenty-five easy lessons in practical authorship by E. Haldeman-Julius. 49c.

DOES MAN LIVE AGAIN?—Debate. Clarence Darrow vs. Judge M. A. Musmanno. 20c.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—By E. Haldeman-Julius.
Questions and Answers, No. 1—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 2—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 3—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 4—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 5—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 6—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 7—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 8—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 9—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 10—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 11—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 12—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 13—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 14—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 15—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 16—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 17—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 18—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 19—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 20—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 21—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 22—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 23—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 24—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 25—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 26—25c.
Questions and Answers, No. 27—25c.
CUMULATIVE INDEX—Vols. 1 to 25. 25c.

DICTATORSHIP OVER THE INTELLECT—By Isaac Goldberg. 25c.

15,000 FAMOUS DATES IN HISTORY—25c.

SIR THOMAS MORE'S "UTOPIA." 25c.

"THE STRANGE LIFE OF GEORGE BORROW—By Arthur S. Tolliver. 25c.

CHARLES DICKENS' "AMERICAN NOTES"—25c.

HENRY GEORGE'S "PROGRESS AND POVERTY." 25c.

"THE STRANGE STORY OF LAFCADIO HEARN"—By Arthur S. Tolliver. 25c.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S "AUTOBIOGRAPHY"—25c.

JAMES THOMSON'S "THE SEASONS"—25c.

SAMUEL BUTLER'S "EREWHON"—25c.

"THE WILD ADVENTURES OF DAVY CROCKETT"—By Arthur S. Tolliver. 25c.

BULWER-LYTTON'S "THE COMING RACE"—25c.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES' "AUTOCRAT OF THE BREAKFAST TABLE"—25c.

RICHARD WAGNER'S "JUDAISM IN MUSIC"—With an answer by Miriam Allen deFord. 25c.

"RELIGION AS A BAR TO PROGRESS"—A Digest of Andrew D. White's Famous Book, "The Warfare Between Science and Theology." 25c.

MORGAN'S "ANCIENT SOCIETY"—Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization. 25c.

ROBERT BLATCHFORD'S "NOT GUILTY—A DEFENSE OF THE BOTTOM DOG"—25c.

BELLAMY'S "LOOKING BACKWARD"—25c.

WILLIAM MORRIS' "NEWS FROM NOWHERE"—25c.

WINWOOD READE'S "THE MARTYRDOM OF MAN"—25c.

THOREAU'S "WALDEN"—25c.

DANIEL DEFOE'S "JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE YEAR"—25c.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT'S "VINDICATION OF RIGHTS OF WOMAN"—25c.

HUMAN MORALITY — By McCabe. 25c.

MODERN ART EXPLAINED—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

MORALS IN RENAISSANCE—By Joseph McCabe. 25c.

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS, Box B-6, Girard, Kansas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Weygand were working hard for capitulation. Reynaud meant well, but, paralyzed by nefarious influences, he did not assert his authority. As for Albert Lebrun, he appears as the perfect French President—a non-entity absolute.

Even at the worst hour there still was some hope; the treachery of Chautemps and Alibert destroyed it, and made Vichy possible; it fell to minor characters to deal the decisive blow. If there are 1,500,000 French prisoners, most of them captured without a fight, Pétain almost alone is to blame: he left the armies without directions and practically ordered them to lay down their arms, before the terms of the armistice had been given. But in spite of Pétain France was "bloody but unbowed"; before the armistice was signed, she was back on the firing line, for De Gaulle had already sent forth his great *Sursum Corda.*

Thus we reach the penultimate chapter, 247 pages out of 280. So far, Fernand-Laurent agrees with Pierre Cot, with Raoul Aglion, with Philippe Barrés, as well as with Kérillis and Pertinax. In Chapter XVIII, The Government of Post-War France, the rift appears. "De Gaulle began in 1940 as the magnificent symbol of resistance. . . . But he became a politician." A familiar fallacy; it will be the refuge of all the Laodiceans. The Free French had to turn themselves into some kind of government if they wanted to administer the territories which had remained faithful to the Republic. They needed to form a political entity if they did not want to be treated merely as foreign mercenaries in the pay of England. The book was evidently conceived when Giraud was still a factor, although his elimination is mentioned. Today it is a trifle off key.

Fernand-Laurent raises the problem—Third or Fourth Republic? He wants the Third, the Republic headed by Albert Lebrun, the Assemblies which committed suicide at Vichy and whose powers have long expired. Naturally his opinion will be hailed with approval by the men who refused to sever relations with Pétain, and who clung to Darlan, Giraud, Boisson, Noguès, Peyrouton, the men who professed to be horror-stricken when Pucheu was executed.

Let us remember Fernand-Laurent's personal equation. It is important that a conservative should have written the first sixteen chapters; it was inevitable that he should write the seventeenth. The cause he defends is not lost by any means. The ghost of the Orleanist-plutocrat Republic is not exorcised yet, and dynamic democracy has a hard fight ahead. Fernand-Laurent is seeking allies in America; but there are quite a few Americans who believe in the Four Freedoms, not in the divine right of the bourgeoisie.

ALBERT GUERARD

The Generalissimo

CHIANG KAI-SHEK: ASIA'S MAN OF DESTINY. By Dr. H. H. Chang. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

THOUGH the publisher announces that this is an unofficial biography of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek "which does not present him as a demi-god," the sub-title alone clearly states the thesis that the Generalissimo is not only China's, but Asia's "man of destiny."

Apparently to prove this thesis, the author exhumes a prediction from the Book of Phophecy published during the Tang Dynasty that "a general will one day rule China: he will be one with grass on his head." The author explains that the Chinese words for "general" are *chiang chun,* the *chiang* being the same as the Generalissimo's family name. The sign of "grass" is also *chiang,* but written differently. However, if you make some extra strokes over Chiang's family name, you get the sign for "grass." Ergo: Chiang Kai-shek is that "general with grass on his head."

Should we reason in similar vein, we could omit, say, the "ill" from Churchill's name and have the word "church" left. Ergo: Winston Churchill will one day become Pope!

The book sets out to prove that from the day of his birth in Chikow in Chekiang Province, Chiang Kai-shek was extraordinary. He never made a mistake; was filled with piety; and in later years (1931-37) the whole nation was wrong and he right in appeasement of Japan, which was occupying China's whole northeast while Chiang and the German Reichswehr officers on his staff were waging a war of extermination against the Chinese Red Army.

Even in his 'teens, Chiang is pictured as the one man who realized that he was destined to rid China of the decrepit Manchu Dynasty and revive the nation. Strangely, Tseng Kuo-fan, the feudal-minded puppet of the Manchus, became one of his life-long heroes, and the Manchus not only educated him in the Paoting Military Academy, but sent him to Japan for over four years of study. Chiang's background, and his close connection with Japan before the present war, can alone explain a cast of mind that often baffles the Western world.

The author sweetens and glosses over many things in the Generalissimo's life, such as his relations with women, with the Shanghai stock exchange, and with the underworld of opium traffickers and gamblers known as the "Green Gang." This Green Gang played a major role in the so-called "Communist" purge in Shanghai in April, 1927, the story of which was told in André Malraux's novel, "Man's Fate." Dr. Chang happily declares that following this purge "the bourgeoisie" came to power and the Nanking government was founded and recognized by all powers but the Soviet Union. After the purge, Chiang became "tired" and rested his "body and soul" in a temple—and in the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. In Japan he negotiated with Mrs. Soong for marriage with her daughter, his present wife, a marriage which put him on the map again, after which he became supreme head of the Nanking government.

Dr. Chang's interpretation of Chinese-Soviet relations from 1923 onward, and his interpretations of the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, differ greatly from that of Dr. Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun and author of the new book "China Looks Forward." Diametrically opposed to Dr. Sun Fo and to Chinese agrarian research scholars, he states that there is no "social malady" in China's agrarian economy. He draws heavily on the absolutist ideology of "China's Destiny," the anti-democratic book published in Chungking last year under the name of the Generalissimo.

Only about one-third of the book is devoted to the Sino-Japanese war, and this most incomplete. For the first three

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years of the war Chiang Kai-shek emerged as the great leader of a united nation. Disunity set in after 1939 because of the growth of proto-fascist institutions such as the ubiquitous secret political police, concentration camps, censorship, suppression of civil liberties, official corruption, and war profiteering. Little or nothing is mentioned of such things, and China's liberal democrats are dismissed as men without a following, the author's information being based on a "chat" on a street corner which he had with a democratic leader.

Toward the end of the volume occurs a strange and significant episode: a friend of the author's recently traveled overland from Shanghai to Chungking. En route he saw officials and policemen who worked for the Japanese "pleasantly chatting" with representatives of "free China." The author's amazing conclusion is:

> For hard-boiled realism there is no one who can beat the common man (*sic*) of China. With him it is a question of three square meals a day, and if conditions are such that they cannot serve China, what difference does it make for the moment if they are pressed into the service of the puppet regime?

While writing, the author appears to have kept a jar of honey at hand, to smear over various episodes in his hero's life. He seems also to have taken a huge salt-shaker filled with Confucian proverbs, and sprinkled them over the whole manuscript, happily "chatting" all the while. His book could be better evaluated by the public had the publishers explained the author's activities in Europe during the Spanish Civil War, during which time the American press carried something about him. An objective biography of Chiang Kai-shek would be of service to the United Nations in this war for democracy, but this one fails to fill that need.

AGNES SMEDLEY

What Americans Think

MANDATE FROM THE PEOPLE. By Jerome S. Bruner. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75.

BY WAY of high compliment one might say that 130,000,000 Americans have been co-authors of "Mandate from the People" and that their combined efforts have been brilliantly digested, analyzed, classified, and interpreted by Dr. Bruner, associate director of the Office of Public Opinion Research of Princeton University. Making full use of all the results of the recognized opinion pollers, Dr. Bruner has brought together in one modest volume the thinking of the American people on most of the social, political, and economic problems that will have to be resolved in the post-war years. He is to be particularly commended for having recognized the limitations of his basic data, public-opinion polls. Furthermore, while Dr. Bruner's own convictions are clearly progressive, he has been careful not to inject wishful thinking into his interpretations.

It is somewhat regrettable that the charts are not as self-explanatory to the layman as they should be. It is even more regrettable that the Appendix, which might have been a valuable self-contained summary of poll results, is used merely as a supplement, without page references for those polls cited in the text.

Two significant generalizations strike the reader on almost every page of this book. The first is the relative confusion, lack of understanding, and even ignorance of the public in matters of supreme importance. This is sometimes reflected in a mere lack of knowledge of the facts. Thus five months after the enunciation of the Atlantic Charter, only twenty-three of every hundred Americans had heard or read of that historic document. And only one-third of those twenty-three could name even one provision of the charter. Similarly, when the political question in North Africa had reached the boiling point, only four Americans in ten knew who De Gaulle was and only three in ten had heard of Giraud. Even more crucial, if less surprising, is the failure of the public to see the relationship between facts they know or convictions they hold. A 1943 poll shows that only 13 per cent of Americans opposed this country's participation in a world confederation. But a poll taken a few months previously showed that only 55 per cent favored joining "even if Russia had as much to say as the United States." Fifty-five per cent is still a majority, but one wonders what kind of world organization was in the minds of the 32 per cent who disapproved of an equal voice for the major powers, to say nothing of the minor powers. This sort of inconsistency appears to be a consistent characteristic of American public opinion.

The second generalization emerging from these pages is hardly surprising: Americans, like every other people, are motivated primarily by self-interest, and this self-interest is conceived in personal rather than in national terms. A job is

370

returned from Guadalcanal last week

—and only a bus met these silent, tired men!

● 100,000 more G.I.'s are coming back home every month . . . Are we going to let them sell apples on street corners again? Are we going to let demagogues exploit and subvert them? DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS NOW! But first, read this book by a veteran and the son of a veteran. It's written for the veteran's family, friends and his employer . . .

"A thoughtful book about this complex problem that will make many of the succeeding tomes on the subject unnecessary."
—*Chicago Sun Book Week*

THE VETERAN COMES BACK

by WILLARD WALLER

Just published, $2.75

THE DRYDEN PRESS, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURES

DAVID O. SELZNICK
presents
SINCE YOU WENT AWAY
CLAUDETTE COLBERT
JENNIFER JONES
JOSEPH COTTEN
SHIRLEY TEMPLE
MONTY WOOLLEY
LIONEL BARRYMORE
ROBERT WALKER

IN PERSON!
That Ace Drummer Man
GENE KRUPA
and His Sensational ORCHESTRA
"That Swings with Strings"
Now Playing Cool Capitol B'way at 51st St.

"A commanding screen biography."
. . . Crowther, Times
DARRYL F. ZANUCK'S WILSON
A 20th Century-Fox Picture
On the Roxy stage . . .
FRED WARING and his Pennsylvanians
ROXY CONTINUOUS PERFORMANCES

STAGE PLAYS

THE THEATRE GUILD presents (In association with Jack H. Skirball)
JACOBOWSKY and the COLONEL
The FRANZ WERFEL - S. N. BEHRMAN COMEDY — Staged by ELIA KAZAN
LOUIS CALHERN—ANNABELLA—OSCAR KARLWEIS
MARTIN BECK J. EDWARD BROMBERG THEATRE — West 45th — AIR CONDITIONED
Evenings at 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

MICHAEL TODD presents
BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
WINTER GARDEN, B'way & 50th St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
AIR CONDITIONED

far more important to the average American than an effective international organization. A poll taken this past winter showed that 53 per cent of the people were primarily concerned with domestic problems, and only 16 per cent with international affairs. (Campaign strategists, please note!) As might be expected, the concern with domestic problems increases the lower one goes in the economic scale.

Because of the inconsistency of the results, the polls cited by Dr. Bruner can, and undoubtedly will, be used by exponents of both sides of any particular argument. The attitude of Americans toward our enemies is a striking case in point. In future debates Rex Stout and Emil Ludwig will be using the following: Over 75 per cent of our people believe the peace treaty should be more severe than Versailles; 70 per cent believe that Germany will start preparing for another war if it loses this one; 63 per cent feel that reparations demanded by Versailles had nothing to do with the rise of Hitler; and 52 per cent think we should try to collect as much as possible from the Germans, even if it breaks them (8 per cent having no opinion). But Dorothy Thompson and Paul Hagen will counter as follows: Only 18 per cent of Americans hate the German people; only some 24 per cent feel that Germans always like war; 61 per cent say we should treat the Germans kindly and with consideration; only one in ten Americans favors dismemberment of Germany; and 64 per cent prefer that Germany continue intact under a new government.

In other words, "Mandate from the People" is a challenge to American educators. In view of the glaring failure of most Americans to relate economic realities to political opinions, it is a particular challenge to our economists. Every educator, economist, political analyst, propagandist, or aspirant to political office would do well to keep Dr. Bruner's book on his desk, not only because it can serve as a guide to what Americans think, but more significantly because it suggests methods of approach for any effort to make them think differently.

JAMES LOEB, JR.

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES KERNEY, JR., editor of the Trenton *Times*, was appointed New Jersey State Director of the OPA by President Roosevelt. He serves on the Revision Commission, which drafted the new state constitution, and was recently appointed to the state's post-war planning group.

KARL LOEWENSTEIN is professor of Political Science at Amherst College.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS is an editor of the *Partisan Review*.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is author of "The France of Tomorrow" and "Napoleon III."

AGNES SMEDLEY went to China at the outbreak of the Chinese revolution and lived there until recently. Her most recent book is "Battle Hymn of China."

JAMES LOEB, JR., is executive secretary of the Union for Democratic Action.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDS

MY CHICAGO reader who reported on Defauw a few weeks ago made the point that in his performances one could not discover the principles which in most musicians' work account for both their successes and their failures. I was reminded of this by Serkin's recorded performance of Bach's Toccata and Fugue in E minor, which is on Columbia's August list (71594-D, $1). I have heard from Serkin beautiful-sounding and musically sensitive playing—for example in the recorded performance with Busch of Schubert's Grand Fantasia Opus 159, in the recorded Busch-Serkin Trio performance of Schubert's Opus 100, in concert performances of sonatas with Busch and concertos with Toscanini; and I can discover no principle that accounts both for this and for his clumsy and musically insensitive playing with Busch and Feuermann in a New Friends performance of a Mozart trio and with Stiedry in a performance of a Mozart concerto, or for the New Friends performance of Bach's "Goldberg" Variations, which revealed his complete unawareness of what was happening in the music while he was flinging out various forms of brilliant pianistic virtuosity. The newly issued performance of the Toccata and Fugue is like the one of the "Goldberg" Variations: while Bach is building up structural climaxes, at a couple of points in the fugue, Serkin is absorbed in building up pianissimos; and his rattling-off of the first fast section of the toccata robs the music of force and character and reduces it to insipidity. The recorded sound of the piano is dull and unresonant; surfaces are not bad.

Columbia also has issued Debussy's Sonata No. 3 for violin and piano played by Szigeti and Foldes (Set X-242; $2.50). This is Debussy's very last work, written when he was ill and could produce only a feeble patchwork of lifeless stylistic formulas and mannerisms. Into this Szigeti pumps the vitality of his playing, accompanied suavely by Foldes. The recorded sound of the violin is good; that of the piano dull; surfaces are not bad.

The rest of Columbia's August list is material from Columbia's catalogue that is newly packaged. First, in an album titled "A Wagner Concert," four single records with Wagner excerpts performed by Reiner and the Pittsburgh Symphony: the Prelude to "Die Meistersinger," the Preludes to Acts One and Three of "Lohengrin," "Forest Murmurs" from "Siegfried," and the "Ride of the Valkyries" from "Die Walküre" (Set 549; $4.50). I advised against these when they were first issued, because of the hurried, erratic performances or the recorded sound or both; and rehearing them has not changed my opinion. Then, in a newly illustrated album, the excellent and well-recorded Beecham-London Philharmonic performance of Grieg's "Peer Gynt" Suite (Set X-180; $2.50). And, in another such album, Enesco's Rumanian Rhapsody No. 1 played by Stock with the Chicago Symphony (Set X-203; $2.50). The performance is fair; when it was first issued I found its recorded sound noteworthy—after what Columbia had done previously with the Chicago Symphony—for its spaciousness, fidelity, and clarity; now I would add brashness, coarseness, and a little distortion to those qualities. Surfaces are not bad.

As for Victor, it has issued only one new set this summer; and the first record, placed on the turntable without identification, caused a friend to exclaim: "What *is* that infantile twaddle?" As it happened the infantile twaddle was the Brazilian composer Villa-Lobos's "A Próle do Bébé," or "The Child's Family," on which Artur Rubinstein saw fit to waste superb playing, and Victor to waste beautiful recording, plant, labor, and materials that might have been used for a hundred better things. Surfaces crackle and sputter a bit. (Set 970; $2.50.)

Columbia also has begun to repackage jazz records, reissuing in an album "Benny Goodman Sextet" (C-102; $2.50), eight performances chosen by Goodman himself from all that he recorded with various six-man combinations. They are "Rose Room," "Air Mail Special," "Flying Home," "I Found a New Baby," "Poor Butterfly," "Grand Slam," "Wang Wang Blues," and "As Long as I Live"; and in one after another I heard a slick going-through-motions that left me cold, until I got to the last one, in which there was the exquisite Cootie Williams solo that I remembered enjoying a few years ago, and fine playing by the others too. But this was spoiled by bad recording, which produced horrible break-ups of the sound even when the record was played with a heavy Astatic pickup.

Decca's "Ellingtonia Volume 2" in its Brunswick Collectors' Series (B-1011; $3.50) offers a few more early Ellington performances: the two-part 1931 "Creole Rhapsody" (80047); the two-part 1929 "Tiger Rag" (80048); the 1918 "Yellow Dog Blues" and "Tishomingo Blues" (80049); the 1929 "Jazz Convulsions" and 1928 "Awful Sad" (80050). The outstanding performance among these is "Tiger Rag," which is filled with brilliant and humorous solos. Of the others "Creole Rhapsody" has good moments, and "Awful Sad" one of Ellington's best tunes; the two blues are only so-so; and "Jazz Convulsions" is very dull.

As for newly recorded performances, Commodore offers the De Paris Brothers Orchestra's "Black and Blue" and "I've Found a New Baby" (552), which are quite good; and Muggsy Spanier and his Ragtimers' "Sweet Lorraine" and "September in the Rain" (1517), which are only fair. (I should add that Commodore has had its jam sessions not at Kelly's Stable but at Jimmy Ryan's.) And from Asch Records comes a set, "Mary Lou Williams" (450; $3.50), with three piano solos by Mary Lou—"New Drag" (1002), "Mary's Boogie" (1003), "St. Louis Blues" (1004)—coupled with performances by a small group that includes Frankie Newton on trumpet, Edmund Hall on clarinet, and Victor Dickenson on trombone—"Little Joe," "Roll 'Em," and "Lullaby of the Leaves." Mary Lou is a superb pianist, and much of her solo-playing in this set is excellent; but I find her "St. Louis Blues" too hectic and involved. She also gives the group performances great vitality; but the soloists are not interesting.

Ignore the notes which accompany the Ellington and Williams albums; they reach a new low even in that province of pretentious rubbish.

B. H. HAGGIN

40% off

In place of its regular yearly subscription rate of $5, *The Nation* offers a special 40 per cent reduced rate of $3 a year to all men now in the armed forces who have a service address in the United States or United States possessions.

to the Men in the Armed Forces

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

What to Do?

Dear Sirs: What is a liberal going to do next November?

History has proved that there is no possible hope of any liberalism from the Republican Party. The greatest liberal advances in the history of the country have come under the Democratic administration of the last twelve years. Yet control of the Democratic Party has been taken over by the reactionary city bosses of the North plus the reactionaries of the deep South. Anybody with his eyes open knows that with such a control there is no possibility of a liberal program being continued even should Roosevelt be elected. The bosses now in control of the Democratic Party will not let him make good on any promises he may make—just as the Republican bosses four years ago would never have permitted Wendell Willkie to make good on his promises had he been elected.

Therefore, would it not be better to turn the country over in November to the frankly reactionary group—the Republican Party—than to turn it over to the reactionary bosses of the Democratic Party? Thus the Democratic Party could retain the reputation of being the one liberal hope in the country even in its defeat. And maybe in four years' time the liberal element of the Democratic Party can gain control once more and offer a truly liberal program and candidates in 1948.

I hate to vote for Mr. Roosevelt only to find that I have put in power the real controls of the Democratic Party at the present time—the Northern city bosses and the Southern reactionaries.

R. W. PENCE

Greencastle, Indiana, August 1

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to your magazine.

☐ 1 Year $5 ☐ 2 Years $8
☐ 3 Years $11

☐ Remittance is inclosed ☐ Bill me

Introductory Offer to New Subscribers ONLY:

☐ **10 Weeks $1**
Cash wih order

Canada $1 a year extra
Foreign $1 a year extra
Pan American Union requires no extra postage

Name .....
Address .....

8-26-44

Pretty Mad

Dear Sirs: I am beginning to get pretty mad on account of these reflections on my race.

I am a white man. So far as I know I have no Negro, Mongolian, or Indian blood. Though a Virginian by birth, I make no claim to be descended from Pocahontas. I have always thought that I was of English ancestry until recently, when a learned kinsman interested in genealogy revealed Scottish origin.

I am proud of my race, though to tell the truth I had not given the matter much thought until lately, when my race came under attack. In fact, I did not know that the white race needed any defending. I supposed that we had at least inherent equality and certainly acquired cultural superiority. That I now maintain. Against those eminent statesmen and learned anthropologists Talmadge, Bilbo, Rankin, Cotton Ed Smith, Reynolds, and others of equal eminence, who do not believe that the white race is able to hold its own in free competition with the Negro except by giving white people artificial and legal advantages in defiance of our American Constitution, I hereby assert without fear of successful contradiction that inherently the white race is equal to any other on earth, and that with centuries of cultural development behind us we can hold our own in competition with any other race.

And while I am on the subject of race, I want to defend my Anglo-Saxon and Celtic blood against the implicit charge that we are inferior to Semites. There are those who think that Jews are so much smarter than we are, that for our own protection it is necessary to close the field of free competition against Jews. Jews may be able to make money and secure teaching positions to such an extent that the rest of us will be pushed into the background. The big papers, the motion-picture industry, the banks, and department stores will be so controlled by Jews that the rest of us will have to take a back seat.

Now I resent that reflection on my race. Jews may be smarter, but they'll have to show it in a field of open and free competition. I do not fear the test. My belief in my own race is so strong that I challenge any other on earth to comparison in any worthy field.

It will be noted that these attacks on the white race and on "Nordics" come not from other races but from timid souls in our own camp who cannot trust inherent qualities and cultural tradition, but seek by force, by law, by discriminations and inequalities, by prejudice, to maintain their own supremacy. We all know that some people are superior to others in heredity, in character, in intelligence. Such persons do not usually go about proclaiming it. Others will find it out. But individuals afflicted with an inferiority complex must shout their alleged and fictitious superiority, and if they shout loud enough, there are some poor fools who will believe them and elect them to office.

JOHN C. GRANBERY
(Editor and publisher of *The Emancipator*)

San Antonio, Texas, July 27

Contrary View

Dear Sirs: Yer chilluns is fighting and ye ain't seed nothing yet.

As long as unions can strike and the heads of unions can disclaim responsibility therefor, strikes will continue.

As long as heads of unions can declare the door open wide to Negroes, knowing that their members will not let them in, there will be riots and they will mostly be in the North. Down South, we let the Negroes work; that is what we bought them for, in the first place.

Ideology aside, this country is not ready for social equality between whites and blacks, nor is it ready for domination by unscrupulous union labor and only trouble and more trouble can result from trying to put them over.

This letter is meant in a kindly spirit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by one who is as anxious as you are to see the white and black races put on an equitable working basis. He just knows that social equality is simply impossible of attainment. Some segregational basis must be arrived at. J. P. KEMPER

Baton Rouge, La., June 30

Better Late Than Never

Dear Sirs: Your issue of June 3 has just arrived and I am sufficiently impressed by the article by J. A. del Vayo, the editorial on Churchill, and the letter by a Negro private, to make a point of letting you know how much this magazine means to me. Cut off from daily papers, unable to obtain desired British political publications, I find myself more and more dependent upon *The Nation*, arrive though it must so late.

Permit me to echo the sentiments of B. S. in the article, Snapshot from Algiers, in so far as the attitude of American soldiers is concerned. I am much amused by the fact that B. S. thought to distinguish between American "soldiers" and "officers"—if one chooses officers on a basis including knowledge of the war and its causes, one would have too small an officer corps! But it remains an incontrovertible and sad fact that not only are American soldiers (and I include the officers) ignorant of what the war is about and what they are fighting for, but also they don't care to learn—they might be inwardly compelled to do more!

SGT. W. A. C.

Somewhere in England, July 8

Music and Politics

Dear Sirs: Judging from his letter in *The Nation* of August 12, Andor Foldes believes that a music critic who actually criticizes the music of his own time is a "die-hard reactionary," and therefore not the right critic for a liberal publication. Does Mr. Foldes feel that the politically conservative New York *Herald Tribune must* have a music editor who does not like the work of modern composers?

I find it impossible to see any relationship between a person's musical and political views. I disagree with many of Mr. Haggin's opinions, such as his admiration for Verdi's operas and his lack of admiration for Bruckner's symphonies; but I have never read an article of Mr. Haggin's which did not seem to be based on a careful and logical personal evaluation of the music being discussed.

If Mr. Foldes really believes that Mr. Haggin is "engaged in a one-man campaign against everything good written today in music," he should read what Mr. Haggin has written about the music of Ernest Bloch. If Mr. Foldes really believes that Mr. Haggin has neither patience nor understanding, he should read what Mr. Haggin has written about the string quartets of Beethoven, the piano sonatas of Schubert, the "Romeo and Juliet" of Berlioz.

S. D. R.

Pittsburgh, August 10

The Powers and the Peace

Dear Sirs: I read the editorial Churchill's Blunderbuss, in your issue of June 3 with a good deal of interest.

Your opposition to a world dominated and ruled by the big three seems to me to be a little belated as well as naive. Hasn't it been evident for a long time that the peace we were to have was a great powers peace? A peace based on the imperialistic greed of the great powers who would preserve their gains by force.

Teheran did nothing to change this outlook.

Your sharp criticism of Churchill contrasts oddly with your considerate restraint toward Stalin. Has Stalin not gone as far and farther than Churchill in his proposed "New Deal" for Europe?

Here are a few samples. Recognition of Badoglio, unilateral action in the case of Poland with resulting increase in Russian territory and the probable destruction of even the home of a free Poland, the absorption of the Baltic states without consulting the people involved or permitting them to express their preference in a neutrally supervised plebiscite. Just one or two more examples. The proposed "compensation" of Poland by purely German territory and German population and lastly the Carthaginian peace offered by Stalin to Finland, a peace designed to destroy Finland by undermining it economically, later to be gobbled up à la the Baltic states. A part of Stalin's design since the Hitler-Stalin pact.

The only puzzle is what is America's share of the booty to be. Certainly our Allies (the big two) shrug off all idealistic nonsense of a just peace. They hope for a "lasting" peace of their own design of course.

What puzzles this reader is that a paper once regarded as clinging to the truth no matter how unpleasant should now accept the fellow traveler attitude in foreign affairs.

On this day of the invasion it is more and more evident that the only menace to a just and durable peace comes from the great powers among the United Nations. Germany and Japan are doomed to defeat and are no longer a menace.

In the perhaps unjustified hope that *The Nation* will once more view the world more objectively I'm enclosing my renewal subscription.

ANNE KERR

Frederick, S. D., June 6

In Memoriam

Dear Sirs: August 22 brought back to me poignant memories of that black day in 1927 when Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. And I remember talks with the two in jail and prison, correspondence with them, speaking tours of industrial cities in their behalf, and picketing the State House in Boston with many others in the last days before Governor Fuller gave the decision that sent them to the electric chair.

Those talks with "a poor fish peddler and a good shoemaker" were rich treasure to me. Both were aware of significant happenings in the outside world. They knew, for instance, of the pretensions to power by the upstart Mussolini in their homeland before *Il Duce's* name was in American newspaper headlines, and they saw him not only as a social menace in Italy, but as a danger to world peace.

Our society killed them for their social opinions. They were among the first of the "premature anti-Fascists."

ROSE PESOTTA

New York City, August 11.

An Honest Critic

Dear Sirs: I see that one of your correspondents takes exception, in words probably intended to be humorous, to Mr. Agee as film critic. Criticisms of films in the average newspaper, like reviews of books, are inseparably linked with advertising and thus worth nothing. At a time when three-fourths of the film output is practically rubbish, an honest critic like James Agee is highly desirable.

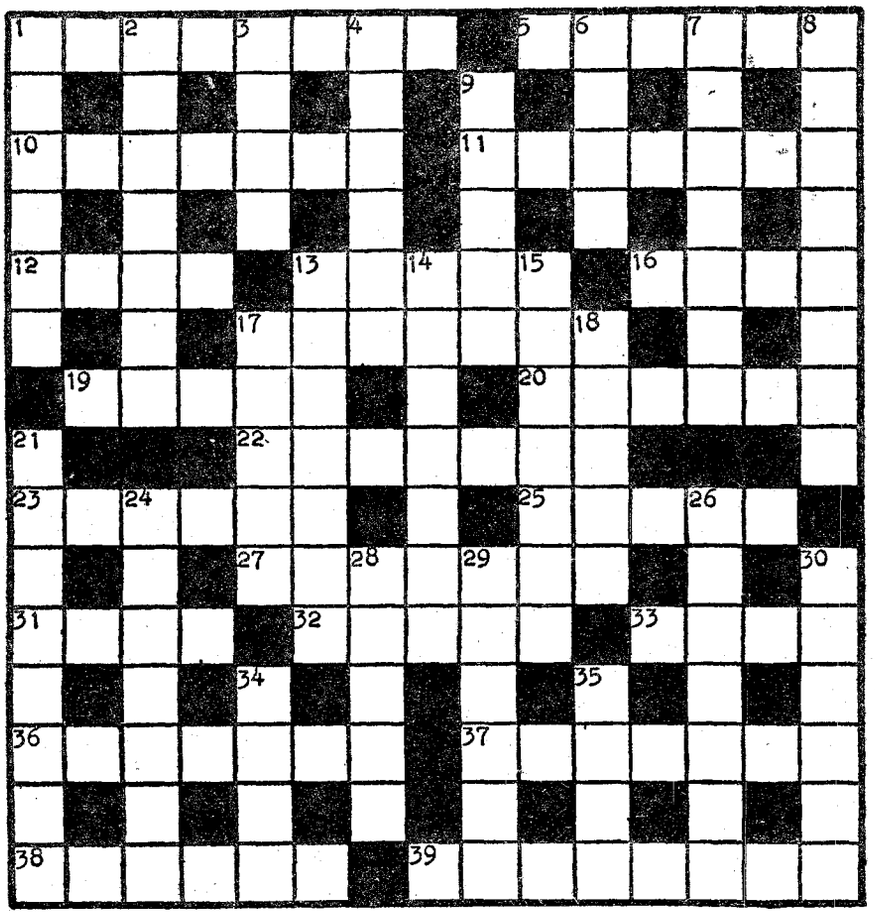
MARC T. GREENE

Portland, Maine, August 7

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 78

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Soft words don't butter them
5 That last touch that means so much
10 One having a special liking for anything
11 Ruler of the Black Forest elves (hyphen, 3-4)
12 Flower girl
13 A pearl fisher, perhaps
16 Painting made by a dub
17 Lampoons
19 Word that makes the bus go
20 Breakfast food that sounds as though it should be continued
22 Absurd country judge in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*
23 Where they are hardly likely to forget Pearl Harbor
25 Poison
27 Led astray
31 "All who joy would win must share it, happiness was born a ----" (Byron)
32 He is beyond human aid
33 They have been known to drown
36 Colonies where a considerable amount of monkey business goes on
37 London district surrounded by spies
38 — — — —
39 Erroneously apprenticed to a pirate, instead of a pilot, in the operetta

DOWN

1 Very loud in the mass? Oh, nonsense!
2 Character in Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*
3 Can be soaked yet still remain dry
4 A lady's order to the hairdresser to let?
6 "Ill fares the land, to hastening ---- a prey, Where wealth accumulates, and men decay" (Goldsmith)
7 Simulate
8 Welcome to the thirsty American, but not to the nervous fielder
9 Look it up, and it will be all the same if you do it now
13 Spirited
14 The penultimate chapter usually sees his finish
15 Rally
17 The Simple One sometimes mentioned in these clues
18 "Those we desire never see" (hidden)
21 Pony race
24 They spend their lives in public service
26 King's barber in *If I Were King* (McCarthy)
28 Eat it, or drink it
29 He lawfully opens other people's letters
30 Just what the doctor ordered, perhaps
34 A rich source, and it belongs to me
35 Pens may be driven, but pencils must be this

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 77

ACROSS:—1 FRIENDS; 5 SCALPEL; 9 NIFTIER; 10 UNBATED; 11 EGG; 13 HEROES; 15 OSTEND; 16 STRETCH; 17 WHOA; 19 INKY; 20 SATINWOOD; 21 PORK; 23 OSLO; 26 HEINOUS; 28 SAWYER; 29 SPLINT; 30 ASS; 32 UNIFORM; 33 OARSMAN; 34 STENTOR; 35 ENSURES.

DOWN:—1 FANSHAW; 2 INFERNO; 3 NOISES; 4 SURE; 5 SLUG; 6 AMBUSH; 7 PATTERN; 8 LADY-DAY; 12 GLEANINGS; 14 STUTTER; 15 OCTOPUS; 18 ASK; 19 IDO; 21 POSEURS; 22 RAWHIDE; 24 SWIMMER; 25 OUTINGS; 26 HE-GOAT; 27 SPIRES; 30 AMIR; 31 SOLE.

RESORTS

The Oaks
ELBERON, N. J.
Enjoy all outdoor sports, excellent tennis, ocean bathing, delicious cuisine, in this American plan country estate. On Highway 4N, only 50 miles from N.Y.C. (Jersey Central or Pennsylvania R.R. direct to Elberon.)
Phone Long Branch 2433
Mgt. of Joseph Horowitz

FOR VACATION FUN AND REST
55 Miles from New York a vacation "heaven," breath-takingly beautiful countryside—delicious food—restful indoor activities—invigorating enjoyable outdoor sports: Tennis—swimming—ping pong—volley ball—bowling—outdoor dancing—bicycling—(horseback riding and golf nearby). You're welcome at any time and for any time. Write for booklet.
Plum Point
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel: Newburgh 4270

SHADYBROOK
MAHOPAC, N. Y. Tel. Mahopac 963
50 miles from N. Y. C. 140 acres rustic country, secluded, restful, homelike. Unexcelled American cuisine. Tennis, handball, etc.; swimming. Free MOVIES.
AUGUST—$40 Weekly; $7 per day
Write for Booklet N POPPER & SIMON

CHILDREN'S CAMP

SMILING HILLS CAMP
EAST STROUDSBURG PENNSYLVANIA
A progressive camp for boys and girls, from 4 to 12 years of age. All activities. Non-sectarian. Non-regimented. Individual care. (Limited to 50 campers)
Write:
James & Nellie Dick, Modern School,
115 Cary St., Lakewood, N. J. Phone 1007

FARMS AND ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE FARM AGENCY, Chatham, New York, offers 300 New York-Massachusetts Berkshire Hills farms.

FURNISHED ROOM

BROOKLYN—Newly furnished, cozy, private bath. Near subway, library, museum, Botanic Gardens. Sunshine, flowers. Jewish nutritionist offers refined home to discriminating man. $15 week; board by arrangement. Box 1484, c/o The Nation.

WANTED

WANT INTERVIEW with philanthropist interested in financing small magazine building understanding for League of Nations. Box 1483, c/o The Nation.

WANTED TO PURCHASE

PHONOGRAPH LANGUAGE SETS. Language, Room 1203, 18 East 41st St., N. Y. C. 17.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED